

# ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

---

VOLUME II

APRIL—JULY 1920

NUMBER 2—3

---



SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI

PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS

*Issued Quarterly*

Annual Subscription \$2.00

Single Numbers 50 Cents

Entered as Second Class Matter November 20, 1918 at the Post Office at St. Louis, Missouri,  
under the Act of August 24, 1912

## Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc. required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912,

Of ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, published Quarterly  
at St. Louis, Missouri, for April 1, 1920.

State of Missouri } ss.  
City of St. Louis }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and city aforesaid, personally appeared Edward Brown, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, 209 Walnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

Editor-in-Chief } Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., D.D.,

Managing Editor } Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.

Business Manager: Edward Brown, 511 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS — an Association organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving materials of all kind relating to the Catholic history of the diocese St. Louis and disseminating such information; neither the Association nor any of its members have any pecuniary interest in said publication.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state).

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain the statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is — — — (This information is required from daily publications only.)

(Signed) EDWARD BROWN, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of March 1920.

(Signed) H. M. CLAPP, Notary Public

(My commission expires Jan. 21, 1922)



# ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

---

Issued Quarterly

---

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. F. G. HOLWECK

REV. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER

EDWARD BROWN

---

*Volume II*


*APRIL—JULY 1920*

*Number 2—3*

---

PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SAINT LOUIS

209 WALNUT STREET, ST. LOUIS, MO.



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2024

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS.....	56
EARLY MISSIONARY EFFORTS AMONG THE INDIANS IN THE DIOCESE ST. LOUIS..... <i>Rev. J. Rothensteiner</i>	57
NOTES ON SISTER MARY THEONELLA HITE AND HER FAMILY..... ..... <i>Scannell O'Neill</i>	97
DIARY OF THE JOURNEY OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH FROM ST. LOUIS TO TUCSON, ARIZ. (1870)..... <i>Sister Monica</i>	101
ORIGIN OF THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT (COTE DES ALLE- MANDS, LA.)..... <i>Rev. F. G. Holweck</i>	114
NOTES .....	123
DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES.....	130
AN APPEAL .....	151

# Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

Established February 7th, 1917

## OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES

1920-1921

*President*—MOST REV. JOHN J. GLENNON, D. D.

*First Vice-President*—RT. REV. MGR. J. A. CONNOLLY, V. G.

*Second Vice-President and Treasurer*—EDWARD BROWN

*Third Vice-President*—LOUISE M. GARESCHÉ

*Secretary*—REV. EDWARD H. AMSINGER

*Librarians  
and Archivists*

{ REV. F. G. HOLWECK  
REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.  
REV. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

*Executive  
Committee*

{ RT. REV. MGR. J. A. CONNOLLY, V. G., President  
RT. REV. MGR. J. J. TANNRATH, Chancellor  
REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.  
REV. F. G. HOLWECK  
REV. MARTIN L. BRENNAN, Sc D.  
REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER  
REV. EDWARD H. AMSINGER  
EDWARD BROWN, Secretary

*Committee  
on Library  
and Publications*

{ REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.  
REV. F. G. HOLWECK  
REV. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.  
REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER  
EDWARD BROWN

## COMMUNICATIONS

General Correspondence should be addressed to Rev. Edward H. Amsinger, Secretary, 744 S. Third St., St. Louis, Mo.

Exchange publications and matter submitted for publication in the ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW should be sent to the Editor-in-chief, Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., DD., Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.

Remittances should be made to Edward Brown, Treasurer, 511 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.



## EARLY MISSIONARY EFFORTS AMONG THE INDIANS IN THE DIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS

The missionary spirit has always and everywhere been a distinctive mark of the Catholic Church. The injunction of her Divine Founder and Master, "Go and teach all nations," never ceased ringing in the ears of her ministers and ever found a ready response in the hearts of her people. The history of the development of the Church is largely the history of her missionary labors. It was, therefore, to be expected that the planting and the growth of the Church in the Mississippi Valley should be closely identified with many generous efforts to gain for the religion of Christ the various savage tribes called Indians, then inhabiting the vast tracts of land bordering on the mighty Mississippi, and its tributary rivers and streams. And, indeed, here as elsewhere the Catholic missionary followed in the wake of the explorer, or, rather, the first explorer was also the first missionary, the intrepid Father Pierre Marquette of the Society of Jesus. After the pathfinder came band on band of zealous messengers of the Gospel, whose chief concern it was to win the poor savages to the religion of the cross. The Jesuits, whilst there were Jesuits, were most prominent in this religious movement, and their establishments dotted the land from far away Canada, along the shores of the great lakes, down the course of the Illinois River, and on the banks of the River of the Immaculate Conception, as Father Marquette called the Mississippi, down as far as the Gulf of Mexico. Noteworthy above others were the original Kaskaskia's Mission on Lake Pimeteoui, then Fort St. Louis,<sup>1</sup> the home of Father Allouez and Gravier on the Illinois River, and lastly the new Kaskaskia Mission, of which the Jesuit Relations give us such glowing pictures of Christian faith and piety, together with its dependencies, Fort Chartres, Prairie du Rocher and Ste. Genevieve. The Fathers of the Foreign Mission from Montreal had established their center at Cahokia with the Commission to evangelize the immense tract watered by the Missouri and its tributary streams, "the most beautiful region in the world," as Father Vivier calls it in 1750. Further down the Mississippi there were a number of stations conducted by Jesuits or Capuchins. Of course, these missionary centers were not always of the same relative importance, increasing or de-

---

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that Fort St. Louis and Starved Rock are the same place. The mission called St. Louis took its name from the *Fort St. Louis*, and was probably at the great village, which village was just below Starved Rock. Starved Rock is the place where the Illinois made their last stand against the Pottawatomies.

creasing frequently in accordance with the frequent shifting of the Indian population. An approximately correct idea can be gained for the years 1722-1728 from a Memoir<sup>2</sup> concerning the Church of Louisiana, dated November 21, 1728, found in the archives of the Ministry of Marine of France. We will give the leading parts of this lengthy document in a literal translation of the French original, connecting them by a resumé of the less important matters. "By ordinance of the Commissioners of the Council of May 16, 1722, and with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec, the Province of Louisiana was divided into three religious jurisdictions," apportioned to three missionary orders, each to have at its head a Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec.

The first included all the country which is found in ascending the river St. Louis (Mississippi) from the sea (the Gulf of Mexico) to the height of the entry of the river Ouabache (Ohio) into the river St. Louis; and all that part to the west of this river in the said extent of country. The churches and missions in this jurisdiction were to be filled by the Capuchins and their Superior was to be always Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec, in the department, and to reside in New Orleans.

The second jurisdiction was to extend over all the country which is found in the upper part of the province above the river Ouabache, and was to be in control of the Jesuits, whose Superior residing at the Illinois, was to be always Grand Vicar to the Bishop of Quebec in this part.

The third jurisdiction was to comprise all the country east of the river (Mississippi) from the Gulf to the Ohio, and was to be given to the Carmelites, whose Superior was likewise Grand Vicar, and ordinarily established at Mobile.<sup>2</sup>

The Capuchins at once took possession of their district; the Jesuits had been established in theirs for upwards of fifty years; the Carmelites were, indeed, at Mobile, but as the Bishop of Quebec seemed dissatisfied with their management, their jurisdiction was by episcopal order united to that of the Capuchins. Whereupon the Carmelites withdrew to France. Now there were but two jurisdictions: the old Illinois country under the Jesuits, and the remainder of Upper Louisiana, together with the entire extent of Lower Louisiana under the care of the Capuchins.

In the month of December, 1723, continues our memoir, the company (of the Indies), judging that the Capuchins would not be able to furnish enough clergy-men to supply all the cures and missions in a region so vast . . . fixed the boundary of their jurisdiction at Natchez, leaving them all the country below this post, both to the east and to the west, and giving the remainder to the Jesuits, who, in this department had for fellow-laborers two priests of the Foreign Missions.

This arrangement alarmed the Capuchins; they demanded a guarantee that no further encroachments would be made on their sphere of activity. The guarantee was given by the Council and confirmed by Royal Patent on July 15, 1725.

<sup>2</sup> Memoir concerning the Church of Louisiana (1722-1728), dated November 21, 1728. Cf. Martin T. J. Griffin. *The American Catholic Historical Researches*. XXII. No. 2.



But the Capuchins, as the Memoir continues, had more zeal than ability to furnish men. The Province of Champagne, from which those of Louisiana came, is small and unfruitful of subjects. The company then seeing that they were not providing as many clergymen as were needed to fill the ecclesiastical posts of this district, and knowing, moreover, that they were little fitted for missions among savages, decided on a new partition which, being accommodated to the character and the particular talents of the two orders, should fix unalterably their relations from this time forward. They decided to establish the Capuchins in all the French posts, and to charge the Jesuits with the spiritual management of the savages, under the will and pleasure of the Bishop of Quebec, who had warmly approved this arrangement.

In consequence the Council made an agreement on February 20, 1726, with the Jesuit Fathers by which they engaged to furnish missionaries not only in all places of their district, but also at the homes of the savage nations . . . in the territory conceded to the Capuchins.

The Superior of the Jesuits was to reside in New Orleans, on condition, however, that there should not be any ecclesiastical functions in New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchins. "In the month of December, 1726, there departed from France the number of Jesuits necessary to supply the missions which they had agreed to establish, and they were immediately assigned to their stations. The presence in one city of two Grand Vicars with divided authority was to bring on a serious disturbance of ecclesiastical peace; yet the work of the Indian Mission entered upon a new era of prosperity for at least thirty-six years. The names of all the missionaries then laboring in Louisiana, both Capuchins and Jesuits, were given at the end of the Memoir.

Capuchins: Pere Raphael, V. G. of the Bishop of Quebec, and Curé of the City of New Orleans; P. Hyacinthe, Vicar, and Pere Cecile, both at New Orleans. P. Theodore with the Chapitoulas; P. Philippe at Village Allemand, in the German Village; P. Gaspard at Balize; P. Mathias at Mobile; P. Maximin with the Natchitaches; P. Philibert with the Natchez; P. Victorin, Recollect, joined to the Capuchins with the Apalaches.

Jesuits: Pere Petit, Superior at New Orleans; P. Poisson and P. D'Outreleau, both with the Arkansas; P. Tartarin and P. Boulenger, both with the Kaskaskias; P. Guimereau with the Metchigamias; P. Souel with the Yasous; P. Baudouin with the Chicasaws; P. Guenne with the Alabamas.

Pere Petit, adds the Memoir, had been with the Choctaws. There will be a new missionary to the Castonitas. Messrs. Thaumur and Mercier, priests of the Foreign Missions, are with the Jesuits serving the Cahokias and Tamarois.

The golden age of the Illinois Missions, however, was then already on the decline, chiefly on account of the Indians' indulgence in strong drink and the consequent licentiousness. This decline was to assume alarming proportions about 1750, when Father Vivier, S.J., could write of Kaskaskia:

This station contains more than six hundred Illinois, all baptized, with the exception of five or six; but the "fire water" which is sold them by the French,

and especially by the soldiers, in spite of the reiterated prohibition on the part of the King, and that which is sometimes distributed to them, under pretext of maintaining them in our interest, has ruined the mission and caused the greater part of the converts to abandon our holy religion. The Indians, and particularly the Illinois, who at other times, are the gentlest and most tractable of men, become, when intoxicated, frantic and brutally ferocious. Then they attack each other with knives, inflicting terrible wounds. The greatest good we do among them is the administration of baptism to children who are at the point of death.<sup>3</sup>

It was a sad state of affairs, so different than that described by Penicaut in 1711,<sup>4</sup> not to mention the detailed accounts of the Jesuit Relations. But the end was to come in a manner no one could have expected, by the suppression of the Order, which had been the life of these missions. At one fell swoop in 1764 all the Jesuit missionaries were recalled by the Council of the Indies, and, with one exception, deported to France. The Society of Jesus was dissolved, as far as France was concerned; but Providence watched over an Order that was to take up again the work of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians of the Mississippi Valley and to carry it beyond the Mississippi, yes, beyond the plains and the valleys' natural bulwarks, the Rocky Mountains.

### I. THE FIRST MOVING OF THE SPIRIT.

It is my purpose to sketch the missionary efforts among the Indians in the Old Diocese of St. Louis. Now the Diocese of St. Louis is first mentioned as a probable or desirable foundation in the letter of Bishop Flaget, dated June 26, 1816. Writing to Archbishop Neale of Baltimore, the Bishop of Bardstown says, among other things:

According to your request, I candidly pass my opinion about the erection of a new See at St. Louis: I firmly believe that the place is of the utmost importance for the good of religion, not only on account of the many Catholics that live there now, of those that will immediately emigrate thither as soon as they hear that there is a Catholic bishop, but much more so on account of the many nations of Indians that have never heard of the Christian faith. The bishop that is to be sent thither must be accompanied by a good number of priests, and zealous ones, because the country is almost destitute of them. . . . If the Holy Father was to send a Jesuit as a bishop and give him five or six companions, I do not entertain the least doubt but in less than twenty years St. Louis would be the most flourishing diocese of all those that are in the United States.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Letter of Father Vivier, S.J., to a Father of Society of Jesus, dated at Illinois, the 17th of November, 1750. *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. XI, No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. VII, No. 2, for a brief extract from Penicaut's Journal of the Kaskaskias' Mission, to conditions obtaining then: We can give but one remark concerning the spiritual condition of the mission in 1711: "By far the greater number of the Illinois are Catholic Christians. . . . The church (a very large one" is kept very clean inside. There are three chapels, the large one for the choir and two side chapels. There is also a tower, and in it is a bell. The people attend very regularly at High Mass and Vespers. The Jesuit Fathers have translated for them the Psalms and hymns from the Latin into their own language.

The Illinois, both at Mass and at Vespers, sing a couplet alternately with the French, who keep to the original language. For example, the Illinois sing a couplet of a Psalm or hymn in their own tongue, and the French sing the succeeding couplet in Latin, and so on; and all in the same tone in which it is sung in Europe by Catholic Christians."

<sup>5</sup> Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget's Letter to Archbishop Neale, June 26, 1816. From the Archives, Baltimore. Cf. Printed in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. XIX, No. 3.



This was written in 1816, on June 26. About three and a half months previous to this Bishop Flaget had written about this matter in a somewhat veiled manner, probably acting for Bishop Du Bourg of New Orleans, then in the first flush of apostolical zeal, seeking laborers and soliciting means in Rome, the Italian States, France and Belgium, for his boundless diocese of Louisiana. There was a gentle hint on this communication addressed to the clergy and laity of the Missouri Missions, that Ste. Genevieve might be chosen as the episcopal seat instead of St. Louis, especially as St. Louis now boasted of having a theater, probably the first theater on the west side of the Mississippi. The good bishop expressed the hope "that the citizens of St. Louis would come to their senses, and that they would not cast aside, out of love for vanity and falsehood, the incalculable benefits which will infallibly result from the presence of a bishop in their city."<sup>6</sup> By a strange chain of circumstances Bishop Du Bourg himself was led, we may say, forced, to come for the first years of his episcopacy to St. Louis instead of New Orleans, and to found here those institutions which he had originally intended for the South. It is also noteworthy, though in a much lower degree, that Bishop Flaget, who had opposed the choice of St. Louis on account of its theater, had as companion on the steamer Piqua that carried him and Bishop Du Bourg down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis, a band of strolling players. But the reception extended to the new Bishop was a most hearty one in the French style. A great parade of the inhabitants was held. Two carriages brought the prelates from the landing to the church, four of the most prominent men of the town, Messrs. Didier, Pratte, Sarpy and Belcour, carried the canopy under which the Bishops walked to the altar: St. Louis was a diocese in fact, though not in name, and now began the work of christianizing the Indians in dead earnest.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Flaget Circular Letter to the Priests of Upper Louisiana, March 3, 1816, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. XXI, No. 4.

Also in Dr. Charles Souvay's article "Rosati's Election to the Coadjutorship of New Orleans," in *Catholic Historical Review* (Washington), vol. III, pp. 5 and 6.

<sup>7</sup> Of 'his important historical event we catch a passing glance in an intimate letter of Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, written on the very days of the occurrences to her father, J. B. C. Lucas, at Washington, D. C., dated St. Louis, January 4th and 5th, 1818: "The steamboat arrived here yesterday and brought a company of players who will perform in the old theater this winter."

The Bishops (Du Bourg and Flaget) are to be here at 12 o'clock to-day and will be received with great parade in the church by the inhabitants of this place. Mr. Hunt found Messrs. Didier, Belcour, Sarpy (who gave him this information) in grand council at the church door; the whole town is in an uproar about it, and one-half on the river shore were under the dais (canopy), which was supported by Messrs. Didier, Pratte, Sarpy and Belcour. Our old church was handsomely decorated and a crimson throne erected, to which Bishop Flaget led our Bishop, and, having seated him, left him and returned to the altar, from whence he addressed our Bishop very handsomely. But I thought the answer was the best of the two. Bishop Du Bourg is certainly more eloquent than the other; at all events, he speaks more handsomely. The church was never so crowded since I have been here, nor will those four walls ever see such another day as this. All the people appear to be much pleased with their new acquisition. May it continue so, is the wish of your affectionate daughter,  
Ann L. Hunt."

The Indians of the Western plains were not altogether unknown at the time. French traders and trappers had visited the tribes in all directions. And Indian delegations had frequently been seen in the streets of St. Louis. As early as 1750 Father Vivier wrote:

Among the tribes in Missouri there are some who seem most favorably disposed for the reception of the Gospel; for example, the Panismahas. One of our priests wrote one day to a Frenchman who was trading with these Indians, and begged him in his letter to baptize those of their children whom he found to be at the point of death. The chief of the village, seeing the letter, asked: what is the news? "None," answered the Frenchman. "What!" said the Indian, "because we are red men may we not learn the news?" "It is from the Black Chief," replied the Frenchman. "He has written advising me to baptize the children who are dying, so that they may go to the Great Spirit." The Indian chief, perfectly satisfied, said to him: "Do not put yourself to any trouble in this matter. I will take upon myself the task of giving you notice whenever there shall be a child in danger." On assembling his people, he said "What do you think of this Black Chief? We have never seen him; we have never done him any service; he dwells far from us towards the rising sun, and yet he thinks of our village. He wishes to do us good, and when our children come to die, he wishes to send them to the Great Spirit. The Black Chief must be very good."<sup>8</sup>

Such and similar occurrences, breathing forth the true charity of Christ that must warm every true heart, carried the fame of the Black Chiefs, or Black Robes, as the missionaries were called by the Indians, from tribe to tribe, from nation to nation, and awakened in their hearts the desire of having one of their kind among them. In the course of our sketch we shall learn of many an Indian delegation coming to St. Louis to obtain, if possible, a missionary for their people who still preserved the memory of some Black Gown now long in his grave, but who had done a kindness to their fathers long ago, or who had instructed them in their childhood, and perhaps baptized them in some mission chapel that afterwards fell in ruins. A few days after his arrival in St. Louis Bishop Du Bourg wrote to a friend in France who had expressed a fear that the bishop's supporters might injure the interests of France by working for distant lands: "The good which they do here will return to them a hundredfold" and then continues:

"Turn your eyes on hundreds of Indian tribes that seem but to wait for instruction in order to embrace the faith. How touched you would be if you could be witness of the frequent deputations which I receive from them the religious respect which they testify to me, and the urgent prayers which they address to me, to be their father, to visit them, and to give them men of God."<sup>9</sup>

Among the numerous companions of Bishop Du Bourg, the saintly Father Felix De Andreis of the Congregation of the Missions, was the first one to conceive the idea of a missionary life among the Indians.

<sup>8</sup> Jesuit Mission to the Illinois, 1750, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XI, 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 1. In quoting the *Annales* we have found great help in the excellent translation made of many letters by Naina dos Santos, and published in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. XIV No. 2, pp. 140-216.



Even before he set foot upon the land to be hallowed by his labors, whilst preparing himself for his life-work under the roof of St. Thomas' Seminary at Bardstown, he gave strong expression to his desires and hopes. Writing to the Vicar General of the Congregation of the Missions at Rome, under date of January 5, 1817, Father De Andreis says:

"I feel strongly impelled to devote myself, in a particular manner, to the conversion of the Indian tribes who live beyond the Mississippi. Here (in Kentucky) no trace of them remains, while, on the contrary, the Mississippi, which serves as a boundary to the United States, and separates them from the immense wilderness, which extends even to the Pacific Coast, flows by St. Louis, and makes of it the central point of all these savage nations. Among these, so far, the light of the gospel has never penetrated, though they seem well disposed to receive it. Therefore, I intend, when our seminary is well established, to leave Father Rosati at its head, and to wend my way, in *Nomine Domini*, along the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri, preaching the gospel to these poor people. Before I leave St. Louis I will have the Catechism translated into their language. This I can do with the assistance of some Indians who come from time to time to St. Louis, and persons of the place who are pretty well acquainted with their language. I have received from men of experience much information, both with regard to the difficulties to be encountered and the manner of overcoming them, and, with the help of God, the undertaking seems as easy as if I already witnessed its execution. I shall have much to suffer, but of this I do not think, nor will I allow my mind to rest on it one moment. Too much already have I thought about myself, and I am ashamed to have done so; but in future, nothing but God and the interests of His glory shall occupy my attention. I see clearly that He is very merciful in my regard, for I should be an infidel did I not trust in Him and follow solely the impulse of His spirit.

"To tell the truth, the Indians are uncivilized, ferocious, inconstant and haughty. They habitually lead a very austere life, and sometimes spend several days without taking any nourishment; but then, if they chance to kill a buffalo or a deer in their hunt, they will eat it all at once, almost raw. They wear very little clothes, and torment their bodies to please the 'Great Spirit.' The old people, with the women and children, remain in the wigwams, but the others are nearly always away hunting beasts, whose skins they prepare very skillfully, and exchange them with the Americans for provisions and strong liquors. They are exceedingly fond of liquor, so much so that this propensity constitutes one of the principal obstacles with which the missionary has to contend, in the work of their conversion."<sup>10</sup>

One year later, about forty days after his arrival in St. Louis, February 24, 1818, Father De Andreis writes, among other details concerning the new mission, the following account of the unfolding of his plans in regard to the Indians. The letter is addressed to Father Siccardi in Rome:

"Let us now proceed to the numerous Indian tribes. There are among them fifty different nations; they acknowledge one only God, whom, in their language, they call Chissemeneu, which means 'Father of Life'; to him they address their prayers and offer the first fumes of their pipe. To please this god, they treat themselves most cruelly. Indeed, their whole religion consists in these practices, some of which are too horrible to relate. They live like the very animals of which they are constantly in pursuit. Their chase provides them with food and scanty clothing (for they go almost naked), and enables

<sup>10</sup> Rosati's *Life of Felix De Andreis*, pp. 157 and 158.

them to trade with the white people, who, in exchange for furs and venison, give them powder, spirits, paint to decorate their bodies and silver rings for their ears and nostrils. Their aspect is frightful, and one feels inclined to doubt if their reasoning powers be fully developed. I have seen several, and have conversed with them by means of an interpreter. In general, they regard priests with great respect, calling them Mecate-o-coriatte, which means Black Gown. They also call them "Fathers of Prayer." Some few among them are Catholics, and, in spite of the efforts made by Protestant missionaries to imbue them with false doctrine, they constantly refuse to adopt it, objecting that the true "Fathers of Prayer" have no wives and children like the Protestant ministers, but that they devote themselves wholly to God and the salvation of souls. Notwithstanding the difficulties attending the work of their conversion, I am convinced that, when the first obstacles are overcome, it will be almost easy. The chief impediment is the language, which is not the same among the various tribes, though the dialects are very much alike, and the Indians of different nations understand one another. With the assistance of an interpreter, I have made some attempts to arrange their principal language according to grammatical rule. It is a difficult undertaking, as my interpreter, knowing nothing of such laws, cannot translate word for word, nor supply me with equivalent expressions for every idea. However, I have begun a small dictionary, and made some translations. Their scarcity of ideas renders their language poor in words. They are constantly obliged to express themselves with the aid of circumlocution, especially on the subject of religion."

In December, 1818, Father De Andreis returns to the subject in a letter to Father Baccari, the Vicar General of the Congregation in Rome:

"As to the savages, it is rather a more difficult task. These poor creatures seem incapable of forming any idea of spiritual and divine things. They know that there is a God, and they begin all their employments by an act of worship (a fact which should make many Christians blush with shame!) When they come to trade with the white people, they begin to smoke, and directing the first cloud on high, they say: 'Anaregare kill chakanda,' which means: 'May this ascend to the Divinity.' But these notions only concern the present life. They believe that God has given them a religion different from ours, and if they are told of a future life they understand nothing about it. With patience and time, however, something will be made of them."<sup>12</sup>

Always hopeful amid a thousand discouragements, and consumed with the zeal for the Kingdom of God, Father De Andreis seemed to be on the point of attaining his purpose. In 1820 Bishop Du Bourg was preparing to visit "those immense forests," and Father De Andreis was invited to accompany him.

"Alleluia! Deo Gratias!" he wrote from the Barrens. "At length we are to commence a mission among the savages. I am to have the happiness of accompanying the Bishop to visit these unfortunate people!"

But these wishes were, as Father Rosati wrote, the last sparks of that flame of charity which burned within his heart, for he was soon to depart for heaven, for which he constantly sighed, that he might be united forever with his God. Like St. Vincent, who was not able

<sup>11</sup> Rosati's *Life of Felix De Andreis*, pp. 179 and 180.

<sup>12</sup> Rosati's *Life of Felix De Andreis*, p. 193.



before his death to behold the establishment of his missionaries in the Island of Madagascar, for which he so ardently longed, and had made so many sacrifices; like St. Francis Xavier, who had to stop on the threshold of China without entering the kingdom, because God called him to Himself; so was Father De Andreis to see the Indian tribes, and to approach them, without having it in his power to liberate them from the hands of their ignorance. God destined others, after his death, to undertake this work.

## II. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS.

But what the saintly Dr. Andreis had dreamed of and longed and prayed for was soon to be attempted. On October 21, 1822, John M. Odín, then only in deacon's order, wrote from the Barrens to a friend, Mr. C., in regard to the earliest effort made from St. Louis for the conversion of the Indian tribes of the West:

We have the consolation of seeing a mission opened, or at least, begun, among the savages. Father Lacroix, chaplain to the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Florissant, near St. Louis, has made two journeys to the great Osages. He was cordially received, and conceived great hopes of seeing the faith prosper among this tribe. Forty persons, children and old people, received the waters of baptism.

The second visit was short. He preached, however, before the entire tribe and the chiefs, answering, said that they were happy to hear the word of the Great Spirit. He pushed on further, also, along the banks of the Missouri, a hundred leagues beyond the nation of the Osages, among a great number of other savages. The fever, from which he suffered almost constantly, during this second mission, prevented him from prolonging his sojourn, and obliged him also to abandon his intention of building a church in this part of the country. The poor savages exist in great numbers.<sup>14</sup>

How this missionary undertaking came about is well explained by Father Michaud, who wrote the following account to the Vicar General of Chambéry in 1823:

In 1820 a number of chiefs of the Osage nation came to St. Louis by the order of the Indian agent. Sans-Nerf (principal chief of this nation) was at their head. They all visited our Bishop, whom they call the 'Chief of the Black Robes.' As they have a high opinion of him, and as respect for priests seems natural to them, since they know by tradition that 'Black Robes' visited their forefathers, they came in full dress. Their copper-colored bodies were coated with grease, their faces and arms were striped in different colors, white lead, vermillion, verdigris and other colors formed a great variety of furrows, all starting at the nose. Their hair was arranged in tufts. Bracelets, ear-rings, rings in their noses and lips completed their head-dress. Their shoes are made of buckskin which they ornament with different designs in feathers of various colors; hanging from their robes are little pieces of tin, shaped like small pipes. These are to them the most beautiful ornaments. Their great object is to make a noise when they walk or dance. Their heads are ornamented with a sort of crown in which are mixed up birds' heads, bears' claws and little stag horns. A woolen robe hung over the shoulders covers nearly all the rest of the body; and

<sup>13</sup> Rosati's *Life of Félix De Andreis*, p. 205.

<sup>14</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 2.

again, to this robe are fastened the tails of different animals, etc. Such is the attire in which the chiefs of the Osages paid their respects to the Bishop of Louisiana. He has in his room a handsome ivory crucifix, a small picture of St. Thomas and a few other paintings. The sight of the crucifix struck them with astonishment. They gazed at it, their expression wondering and softened. The Bishop profited by this occasion to announce to them Jesus Christ. 'Behold' (said he to them through the interpreter who accompanied them), 'behold the Son of the Master of Life, who came down from heaven to earth, who died for us, as much for the redskins as for the white skins. It was to gain our happiness that He suffered so much and that He shed all His blood. It is He,' added the Bishop, 'who has sent me here to make known to you His will.'

It is impossible, the Bishop said, to describe the attention that all these poor savages paid to him, and the emotion which they experienced when the interpreter repeated to them the words of the Bishop. They raised their eyes and their hands to heaven and then to the crucifix. All the spectators were moved by the scene. Before taking leave of the Bishop, Sans-Nerf said to him, through the interpreter, that if he wished to come and visit them in their homes he would be well received, that he could do a great deal of good, and that he could pour waters on many heads. The Bishop promised to do so, and presented each one with a little crucifix and also a medal which he hung around their necks by a ribbon, admonishing them to guard them carefully. They promised him to do so, and have kept their word.<sup>15</sup>

From a letter of John Odin, deacon, we add to Father Michaud's account the following anecdote:

Some time ago a great number of savages were in St. Louis. One of them was taken on some errand to a house where the Bishop happened to be. The moment he perceived the Bishop, he ran to him, seized his hand and kissed it with every demonstration of friendship. Having departed without remembering to go through the same ceremony, he recalled his mistake, only when already at some distance from the house. He turned back immediately, running all the way, and uttering loud cries, kissed the Bishop's hand and departed once more.<sup>16</sup>

Bishop Du Bourg, enthusiastic as he was, and of a romantic turn of mind, at once decided to assist the Osages himself, and De Andreis was to accompany him. But De Andreis died, and Bishop Du Bourg had so many calls on his time and talent, and cherished as many grand dreams that he soon decided to entrust the Osage Mission to one of his most excellent priests, Father Charles de La Croix,<sup>17</sup> as we have already stated in the words of the deacon, Odin. But the beginnings of a great undertaking, be they ever so humble, deserve to be remembered in all their details. We will, therefore, give entire the second part of Father Michaud's letter, which treats more fully of the events that transpired in the first Osage Mission:

In 1821 Father Lacroix set out to open the mission to the savages. On the occasion of his first visit, as they were about to depart on a hunting expedition, he could only see one village. He was very well received and baptized a great many children. As he had promised to visit all the villages of that nation of Indians, he was obliged to return last summer. He left Florissant, which is

<sup>15</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 2.

<sup>17</sup> An excellent Sketch of the Life and Labors of Father Charles de la Croix from the pen of our of our indefatigable collaborer, Father F. G. Holweck may be found in the *St. Louis Pastoral Blatt*, vol. 53, No. 7 (July, 1919).



situated five leagues from St. Louis, on the 22d of July. After traveling twelve days on horseback across prairies, broken by forests and streams, he reached the first village which he had already visited in the spring. They were delighted to see him again. He was accompanied by several persons who intended to trade with the savages. All the warriors came to meet them.

"They were conducted, with great honor, to the head chief and invited to feasts, prepared by the savages, and so were kept going until evening, from cabin to cabin. At these repasts they were presented with a wooden dish, filled with boiled maize or buffalo meat (*boeuf sauvage*), but each dish had to be duly tasted.

The head chief and six of his principal warriors offered to accompany the missionary in his visit to the other villages. Ten days were passed thus, and the missionary was received everywhere with the same eagerness. At one of these villages more than a hundred warriors, covered from head to foot with their handsomest ornaments, came quite a distance to meet him. They rode finely trained horses. The occupations of the men are war and hunting. The women are very hard working. They it is who build the cabins, and who carry loads of firewood on their backs. The quantity they take at one time is astonishing. The whole nation is clothed, decently at least. Everyone is covered with a robe.

Polygamy is practiced among them, for it is the custom that when a savage demands a girl in marriage and is accepted, not only she, but all her sisters also belong to him and are looked upon as his wives. They pride themselves greatly upon having several wives. Another great obstacle to their civilization lies in their strong distaste for the cultivation of the soil and for all kinds of work. They care for nothing but war and hunting.

One day the missionary celebrated the Holy Sacrifice. All the chiefs were present and also as many savages as the place would hold. He has told me that he was greatly moved by the respectful attention which they showed, and the exactitude with which they rose and knelt, raising their arms and eyes to heaven. After Mass he distributed to all the chiefs a number of crosses, fastened to ribbons, which he threw around their necks. He also baptized several children.

For several years Protestant missionaries, sent out and well paid by the American government, had been settled among these savages, and had built up establishments where they cared for the children of this nation for a certain time. But they were not successful, and nearly a year ago the Indians took away all their children, saying that they had realized that they were not Black Robes, as they had thought they were at first.

The soil of this portion of Missouri is very fertile, and there are prairies six or seven leagues in extent. In summer the heat is excessive. It was during this journey that the missionary was attacked by burning fever, which forced him to leave the Osages. He was obliged to travel twelve days on horseback, sleeping at night in the woods, not coming across a single miserable cabin. This is how they go about arranging their camp. Having chosen the most suitable place, they unload and unharness the horses, which they let run loose in the woods that they may pasture during the night. They build a hut with the branches of trees, and having gathered wood they light a big fire. Over this they boil a piece of young buck placed on a stick planted before the fire, the meat being turned from time to time. This fire serves also to drive away bears and other wild beasts. After their repast, they roll themselves up in a buffalo skin and fatigue renders this poor bed very comfortable."<sup>18</sup>

### III. HELP FROM UNEXPECTED QUARTERS.

Father Michaud makes mention of several Protestant missionaries, sent out and well paid by the American Government, as settled among the savage Osage Indians. This fact brings before us the policy obtaining under the Presidency of James Monroe in regard to measures to be used for civilizing the savages. It was "the era of good

<sup>18</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

feeling," and even the Indians were to share in its blessings. An assured appropriation of \$10,000.00 had been made by Congress for the education of the government's wards. As Father Gabriel Richard,<sup>19</sup> member of Congress from Michigan, wrote to Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati in 1823:

The President and Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of the War Department, have expressed their willingness to aid in a particular manner those who will undertake the difficult task of civilizing and christianizing the Indians. I have enclosed to you two circular letters, which Mr. Calhoun gave me, expressly to send to you. The laws allow the President to spend yearly \$10,000.00 for the purpose of aiding the schools that are or may be established for the instruction of young Indians. You will see that the whole is not to be done by the Government, a beginning must be made by the benevolence of some charitable persons. You will find by the enclosed papers that the Government is disposed to pay two-thirds of the expense of the necessary buildings. . . . In addition to this, Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, told me yesterday that the Government, besides paying two-thirds of the expense for the buildings, will give \$20 for every Indian child instructed, and for the number of thirty children \$300.00."<sup>20</sup>

Of course, Bishop Du Bourg was at once made aware of this government offer and acted upon it, although we did not find anything more than an allusion to it in his own writings. We copy the letters from Bishop Fenwick's account of the "Progress of the Catholic Religion in the Western States of North America." The first circular of the War Department reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, Sept. 3, 1819.

Sir—In order to render the sum of ten thousand dollars annually appropriated at the last session of Congress for the civilization of the Indians, as extensively beneficial as possible, the President is of opinion that it ought to be applied in co-operation with the exertions of benevolent associations and individuals who may choose to devote their time and means to effect the object contemplated by the act of Congress. But it will be indispensable, in order to apply any portion of the sum appropriated in the manner proposed that the plan of education, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, should, in the instruction of the boys, extend to the practical knowledge of the mode of agriculture, and of such of the mechanic arts as are suited to the condition of the Indians; and in that of the girls, to spinning, weaving, and sewing. It is also indispensable that the establishment should be fixed within the limits of those Indian nations who border on our settlements. Such associations or individuals who are already actually engaged in educating the Indians, and who may desire the co-operation of the government, will report to the Department of War, to be laid before the President, the location of the institutions under their superintendence; their funds; the number and kind of teachers; the number of youths of both sexes; the objects which are actually embraced in their plan of education; and the extent of the aid which they require; and such institutions as are

<sup>19</sup> Father Gabriel Richard, one of the most versatile and energetic priests of the times. Besides his labors and hardships in the immediate service of Christ as a faithful priest, Father Richard was a prime mover in a number of important undertakings in the cause of civilization. He was one of the founders and first professors of the University of Michigan; then the publisher and editor of the first paper ever published in that State; and he enjoys the distinction, some think not a very enviable one, of being the only Catholic priest who was sent to Congress. Father Gabriel Richards' congressional laurels very probably prevented his receiving the mitre.

<sup>20</sup> The whole correspondence may be read in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. X, No. 4, pp. 154-159, under the caption: An Account of the Progress of the Catholic Religion in the Western States of North America, London 1824. Ohio Mission.

formed, but have not gone into actual operation will report the extent of their funds; the places at which they intend to make their establishments; the whole number of youths of both sexes which they intend to educate; the number and kind of teachers to be employed; the plan of education to be adopted; and the extent of the aid required.

This information will be necessary to enable the President to determine whether the appropriation of Congress ought to be applied in co-operation with the institutions which may request it, and to make a just distribution of the appropriation.<sup>21</sup>

Additional regulations were issued by Secretary Calhoun on February 29, 1820, from which we will transcribe the main points of interest:

The position selected for this establishment (of schools for the education of Indian children), with an estimate of the costs, is to be submitted to the Secretary of War, to be laid before the President.

Government will, if it has the means, and approves the arrangement, pay two-thirds of the expense of erecting the necessary buildings. The President of the United States will contribute out of the annual appropriation to each institution which may be approved by him, a sum proportionate to the number of pupils belonging to each, regard being had to the necessary expense of the establishment and the degree of success which has attended it.

A report will be annually made for each establishment on the 1st of October. . . . It is considered to be the duty of all persons who may be employed or attached to any institution, not only to set a good example of sobriety, industry and honesty, but, as far as practicable, to impress on the minds of the Indians the friendly and benevolent views of the government towards them, and the advantage to them in yielding to the policy of the government and of co-operating with it in such measures as it may deem necessary for their civilization and happiness. A contrary course of conduct cannot fail to incur the displeasure of the government, as it is impossible that the object which it has in view, can be effected, and peace be habitually preserved, if the distrust of the Indians, as to its benevolent views should be excited.

(Signed) J. C. CALHOUN,<sup>22</sup>

*Department of War, February 29, 1820.*

Bishop Du Bourg was not slow in making use of this offer: In fact, he obtained more than was here promised. We again quote our deacon, John M. Odin, who from his position at the Barrens was well informed on what was transpiring in ecclesiastical circles. The letter is addressed to Director of the Seminary at Lyons, March 20, 1822:

"Bishop Du Bourg, en route for Baltimore, stopped at Washington to confer with the President of the United States, concerning the mission to the savages which he is planning to establish. The question was carried to the Senate, and although nearly all the members were Protestants, they resolved to grant a sum of money for the furtherance of this project. They promised, moreover, to pay a small pension to the missionaries and to furnish them with the necessary agricultural implements. The savages themselves show the most favorable dispositions."<sup>23</sup>

From this it appears that a special appropriation was made for the specially difficult Western missions.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Note 23.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.



Bishop Du Bourg himself writes on this subject to his brother in Bordeaux March 17, 1823:

Providence deigns to grant a success to this negotion, far in excess of my hopes. The government bestows upon me two hundred dollars a year for each missionary and that for four or five men, and it promises to increase the number gradually, and I am sure that it will do so. For an enterprise such as this, it was essential that I should have men especially called to this work, and I had almost renounced the hope of ever obtaining such, when God, in His infinite goodness, has brought about one of these incidents which He alone can foresee and direct the results.<sup>24</sup>

The question of means was now settled, at least sufficiently to warrant further steps. But where shall the men be found best fitted for the arduous undertaking? Naturally, his thoughts often dwelt on the former glories of Jesuits in the neighboring Illinois. If he could obtain some members of the re-established Order, all would be well. But the prospects of such a piece of good fortune seemed very remote indeed. Lazarists he had in his diocese, but they were needed for the seminary and for the old parishes and missions. Secular priests, though willing, were not specially adapted for the work.

In a letter to his brother, dated January 30, 1826, Bishop Du Bourg sums up the results of his anxious meditations on this subject:

I had long been convinced that nothing could be accomplished here without the religious orders. A man living isolated from his kind grows weary of the apparent uselessness of his efforts. The intense heat exhausts his strength and checks his ardor. Too often he loses his life, or in the fear of losing it he abandons his post. He is fortunate indeed, if he does not prove the truth of those words of the Holy Ghost: "Woe to him who is alone!" and from a being, full of vigor and activity he becomes a good-for-nothing, and the scorn of his fellowmen. There is not the same danger for the religious community. Union makes strength of all kinds. Their members are constantly renewed and increased, hence they are able to provide for their own losses.

It is to this end that I have worked from the very beginning, to secure the help of the Order of Saint Vincent de Paul, and that I have made every effort to induce the Jesuits to come here, the former Order for the seminary, the latter for the Missouri missions, and more especially, for work among the Indians. The expense of all this has been great, but I am far from regretting it.<sup>25</sup>

As early as February 24, 1821, Bishop Du Bourg wrote to the Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Fontana, asking His assistance in gaining the Jesuits for the work of converting the Indians, who, as he states, are very numerous in the upper part of his diocese. He was greatly aided by the Holy Father, who wrote to the Superior General with a view to endorse his wishes. But up to that date all efforts had proved unsuccessful.

"However," concludes Bishop Du Bourg, "I understand that the Superiors of the Society are now showing more willingness to undertake the work. I have accordingly recommended to Father Inglesi to make use of every resource his intelligence and zeal could muster, in order to bring this project to maturity. I beg

<sup>24</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, II, p. 394.

likewise Your Eminence to second his efforts. There is particularly one of the Fathers of the Society, *De Barat* by name, now in the Little Seminary of Bordeaux, whom I know to be most anxious to come here; his piety, knowledge and zeal are beyond par. I beg most earnestly the Vicar General to give him to me, and beseech to this end the aid of Your Eminence's most powerful influence. With him some of the younger French Jesuits will be glad to come, and also others, of riper years, from among those who came lately from Russia to France. Five, or six at most, would be sufficient, if to them were added two or three from Maryland—a thing most desirable, on account of their knowledge of English, and also because, as they are well provided financially, they could supply the want of their brothers. With this help, the Gospel cannot fail to make headway among the numberless nations on both sides of the Mississippi and the Missouri.

Bishop Du Bourg's efforts in this regard were soon to be crowned with perfect success. There was at White Marsh, near Baltimore, a Novitiate of Jesuits; the Master of novices was Father Charles Van Quickenborne, a native of Ghent. The novices were Jodocus Van Asshe, Peter J. Verhaegen, John Elet, Smedts, Peter J. De Smet, Felix L. Verreyt and De Maillet. These young Belgians had been induced by the untiring zeal of Father Charles Nerinx to go to America with him and to join the Society of Jesus.<sup>26</sup> They were accepted at Georgetown by the Provincial Father Anthony Kohlman, and began their novitiate on the 6th of October, 1821. In September, 1823, Bishop Du Bourg came to Georgetown to request from the Provincial a colony of Jesuits for the Indian Missions. Father Van Quickenborne and Father Timmermans, with the novices Van Asshe, De Smet, Verhaegen, Verreyt, Smeds, Elet and Brothers Peter De Meyer and Henry Rychmans, offered themselves for the enterprise. They left White Marsh about the middle of April, 1823, procured wagons for their luggage, crossed the Alleghany Mountains, reaching Wheeling after a journey of two weeks. Here the travellers procured two flatboats, which they lashed together, and floated down the river to Louisville, where they met their beloved Father Nerinx; thence they went down the Ohio as far as Shawneetown, and journeyed across the broad expanse of Illinois to St. Louis, which they reached May 30, 1823. That same evening Father Van Quickenborne rode on horseback to Florissant, accompanied by Father De La Croix. Here the Novitiate of St. Stanislaus<sup>27</sup> was founded by the advent of the pilgrims from White Marsh in Maryland. A letter written by Bishop Du Bourg to his brother at Bordeaux, March 17, 1823, throws an interesting sidelight on this providential occurrence:

The Jesuits of whom I speak (says he) had their institution in Maryland, and finding themselves excessively embarrassed for lack of accommodation.

<sup>26</sup> Maes, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinx*, pp. 332-347. Howlett, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinx*, pp. 356-359.

<sup>27</sup> Florissant, or St. Ferdinand, is one of the very lodest religious centers in the State of Missouri. Originally settled by the French under the Spanish Regime about 1790, it became a dependency of the Canonical Parish of St. Louis under P. Bernard de Limpach; later on it had pastors of its own. From 1809-1810 it was the home of the Trappists under Abbot Urban Guillet, and for the next ten years remained in charge of the Father Prior, Maria Joseph Dunand. The farm on which the Jesuit establishment of St. Stanislaus was erected, was originally called the Bishop's Farm, now the Priest's Farm. The building put up by Father Dunand before 1820 is still in use.

were on the point of disbanding their novitiate, when I obtained this pecuniary encouragement from the government. They have seized this opportunity and have offered to transport the whole novitiate, master and novices, into Upper Louisiana and form there a preparatory school for Indian missionaries. If I had had my choice, I could not have desired anything better. Seven young men, all Flemings, full of talent and of the spirit of Saint Francis Xavier, advanced in their studies, about twenty-two to twenty-seven years of age, with their two excellent masters and some brothers; this is what Providence at last grants to my prayers.

Near the spot where the Missouri empties into the Mississippi, outside the village of Florissant, already so happy as to possess the principal institution of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, I have a good yielding farm, excellent soil, which, if well cultivated (which it is not at present), could easily provide sustenance for twenty persons at least, so far as the important question of nourishment is concerned. True, there is only a small house on the place, but in this country a big cabin of rough wood, such as will be suitable for the apostles of the savages, is quickly built. It is there that I will locate this novitiate, which will be, for all time, a seminary especially intended to form missionaries for the Indians, and for the civilized and ever-growing population of Missouri. As soon as the actual subjects are ready, we will commence the mission in good earnest. In the meantime, I propose to receive in the seminary a half-dozen Indian children from the different tribes, in order to familiarize my young missionaries with their habits and language, and to prepare the Indians to serve as guides, interpreters and aides to the missionaries when they are sent to the scattered tribes<sup>28</sup>

On August 6th, 1823, Bishop Du Bourg resumes the subject so dear to his heart:

... The acquisition which I have made of Jesuits for Missouri causes me to feel singularly peaceful about these distant parts. These good fathers are in possession of my farm at Florissant. To reach it they walked more than four hundred miles, of which two hundred miles were through inundated country, where the water was often up to their waists; and far from murmuring, they blessed God for granting them such an Apostolic beginning. They were very agreeably surprised, not expecting to find such a pretty place; for it is my policy to speak only of the drawbacks to those whom I invite to share my labors. The superintendent of Indian affairs, upon whom depends much of the success of our missions to the savages, received them with an interest both kind and active, and shows himself in an especial way, their protector. Moreover, the Fathers, including their novices, are well calculated to inspire confidence. An unlimited devotedness, which is proof against the greatest dangers and privations, is associated in them with rare goodness and talents of a high order. They complain of nothing, they are satisfied with everything. Living in the closest quarters in a little house, sleeping on skins for want of mattresses, living on corn and pork, they are happier than the rich on their down beds, surrounded by luxury, because they know happiness far more exquisite, and are not hampered by self-indulgence. It is my duty, however, to try to procure for them, at least the necessities of life, and also the means of exercising their zeal and extending their field of labor. It is in this that I hope to be seconded by the Association for the Propagation of the Faith.<sup>29</sup>

Once more Bishop Du Bourg pours out the joy and gratitude of his heart in a letter from New Orleans, dated August 20, 1823:

In the midst of these trying cares (the seminary, the Cathedral, the religious houses and schools, and the demands of New Orleans), my thoughts were

<sup>28</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.



ceaselessly and irresistibly drawn towards the totally abandoned missions of the natives. I needed for their re-establishment a band of apostolic men, men fearless of all sorts of privations and suffering. God has deigned to give me men such as these, in that society, as famous for its brilliant success as for its overwhelming reverses to which He grants a new birth, in these days, for the consolation of religion. A detachment of the Society of Jesus, animated by the spirit of Xavier and Regis, arrived some months ago in the state of Missouri. In order to draw them to me I could not refrain from buying a small cultivated domain, which might furnish them at least with the most pressing necessities of life. This establishment which has cost me about thirty thousand francs, is intended for a preparatory school for missionaries to the savages and also to the civilized peoples along the great Missouri River, the numbers of which are increasing with marvelous rapidity. It includes at the present two Fathers, seven fervent scholastics, all of whom are old enough to be ordained; three Brothers, and a few negro farm hands. The American government has promised me some small help, but it will be quite insufficient for their needs. To those chief institutions, already established, may be added a Cathedral, a farm and a bishop's mansion, at St. Louis, several new churches in the state of Missouri, two houses of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart already in running order, a third one in process of construction, and one of the Sisters of the Cross for the education of girls, and finally, two colleges for boys, for which I have had to make advances, or sacrifices, more or less great, without, in the meantime, having any sources of revenue other than the funds of divine Providence, and the hope of the yearly help which the Association for the Propagation of the Faith promises me.<sup>30</sup>

Good results came in due time. The Bishop writes on June 24, 1824:

. . . The Jesuits of Missouri have at last opened their college for the little Indians. They have only six or eight for whom the government allows them eight hundred dollars. They will take the college of St. Louis; in this way they will insure its stability. The poor Fathers are in great need."

And again January 31, 1826:

You can see by the letters of Father Van Quickenborne the progress made by the Jesuits in a very short time and with very small means. I have been unable to assist them as substantially as I would have liked, having still something to pay on the establishment which I have given them. As soon as this debt is discharged, if our brothers in Europe continue to help us as liberally as heretofore, I intend to spend a quarter, perhaps a third of these donations to aid the Fathers in their important work. They will also need more subjects, for the field which I have assigned to them is immense, but I believe that all will come in good time.<sup>31</sup>

Father Van Quickenborne now drew up, at the suggestion of the government, his plan for the improvement of the Indians. It was as follows:

1. Our little Indian seminary should continue to support the present number of boys from eight to twelve years of age, while the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in our neighborhood should bring up about as many girls of the same tribe. They should be taken young, from eight to twelve, to habitate them more easily to the customs and industry of civil life, and impress more deeply on their hearts the principles of religion.

<sup>30</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5 and II, p. 394.

2. After five or six years' education, it would be good that each youth should choose a wife among the pupils of the Sacred Heart before returning to his tribe.

3. Within two or three years two missionaries should go to reside in that nation to gain their confidence and esteem, and gradually persuade a number to settle together on a tract to be set apart by government. Agricultural implements and other necessary tools for the new establishment to be furnished.

4. As soon as his new town was formed some of the couples formed in our establishments should be sent there with one of the said missionaries, who should be immediately replaced, so that two should always be left with the body of the tribe till it was gradually absorbed in the civilized colony.

5. Our missionaries should then pass to another tribe and proceed successively with each in the same manner as the first.

6. As the number of missionaries and our resources increases, the civilization of two or more tribes might be undertaken at once.

The expense of carrying out this plan might be estimated thus:

Support of 16 to 24 children in the two establishments.....\$1900

Three missionaries ..... 600

Total .....\$2500<sup>32</sup>

"Such was the great scheme projected by the Jesuits of the West, never indeed to be realized, but, as their history shows, one which would have approached, if it did not obtain, complete success."

#### IV. MISSIONARY EFFORTS UNDER BISHOP ROSATI.

But whilst the Jesuit Fathers were slowly maturing their great missionary plans, the Lazarists, and even the secular clergy were called upon to take part in actual work of Christianizing the Indians. Joseph Rosati, the Superior of the Vincentians in America, was, on March 25, 1824, consecrated Bishop of Tenagra, and entrusted with the care of the Church in Upper Louisiana, that is Missouri, Arkansas, the Northwestern Territory, the vast Indian Territory, and the best part of Illinois. One of the new bishop's first acts (August 24, 1824), was to send Father John M. Odin, a newly ordained member of his Order, together with the deacon, John Timon,<sup>33</sup> on a missionary trip through Arkansas and Texas. It was on the 8th day of September, 1824, that the youthful messengers of God's Kingdom started out from the Barrens on horseback. From New Madrid, where they made their first stop, they penetrated through swamps and sparsely settled regions to the Arkansas River, near Little Rock. From there they rode down to Pine Bluff, and reached at last the ancient settlement so often

<sup>32</sup> Document in the Archives of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

<sup>33</sup> John M. Odin, C.M., born at Ambierle, in France, February 25, 1801, became a member of the Vincentian Order, was raised to the priesthood in 1824; after Rosati's elevation to the episcopate Odin became President of the Barrens; made Bishop of Claudiopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas in 1841; promoted to Archbishop of New Orleans February 15, 1861. Died Ascension Day, May 25, 1870, in his native city. John Timon, C.M., born in Conewago, Pennsylvania, of Irish parentage, on February 12, 1797. Came to St. Louis and entered the Seminary of St. Mary's in April, 1823; ordained in 1825. Was a noted controversialist. Was appointed Visitor of the Lazarists in 1835, and Bishop of Buffalo, on September 5, 1847. He died on April 16, 1867.

mentioned in our early annals, the Post of Arkansas<sup>34</sup> at the confluence of the Arkansas River and the Mississippi. Here they visited the village of the Quapaw Indians. Father Odin celebrated the divine sacrifice on an altar erected at the entrance to the wigwam of the Chief Sarrasin

Now will I die happy, exclaimed the aged chief, who had seen the days of the early Jesuit missionaries at Arkansas Post, "now will I die happy, as I have seen my father, the Black Gown of France."<sup>35</sup>

Though all were pagans, they yet preserved an affectionate remembrance of the religion that had been preached to their fathers and then destroyed by evil-minded men. Owing to sickness and impassable roads the missionaries returned to the Barrens.

As early as 1823 a missionary center for the Indians of the North was planned at Prairie du Chien, at the mouth of the Wisconsin River. But the lack of priests, and later on, the widespread disturbances among the Indians, precluded the possibility of success.<sup>36</sup>

The Jesuits, as a matter of course, did not content themselves with their Indian schools at Florissant, but bravely launched out upon the deep to save what could be saved by individual endeavor. "To carry out his plans," says Shea, Van Quickenborne, in August, 1827, visited the old Osage Village, near Harmony, and in the house of the Presbyterian missionary, baptized ten, heard confession and said Mass, for many of the tribe were Catholics (since Father De La Croix's days). He then visited the villages on the Neosho, where, to the joy of the Indians, he spent two weeks and baptized seven of the tribe.<sup>37</sup> But a number of other important works awaited the zealous Father's care and labor, among them the formation of the great Western Institution of Learning, the St. Louis University, in 1828. The Church at St. Charles as well as the convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at St. Charles were built by him. Yet the Indian missions were always present in his mind.

Another effort to bring the Indian nation into the pale of the Church was to be made by one of the secular clergy, the Reverend Anthony Lutz. It was early in May, 1827, that a delegation of the heathen Kansas<sup>38</sup> Indians with their chief, White Plume, came to Gov-

<sup>34</sup> The Poste of Arkansas is one of the earliest settlements in the entire Mississippi Valley. Its religious history, however, was not always an edifying one, as Father F. G. Holweck has shown in his highly interesting sketch in the *St. Louis Pastoral-Blatt*.

Even in the earlier days of the old Jesuit missions the Poste bore a bad name for irreligion of the inhabitants. The last Jesuit priest withdrew from the place about 1760, "until they were disposed to respect religion there." Cf. *Illinois Historical Collection*, vol. I, p. 84.

<sup>35</sup> J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes*, p. 454.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 190, s. s.

<sup>37</sup> Shea l. c. p. 457.

<sup>38</sup> The first mention of the Kansas or Kansas tribe of Indians is that in Don Juan de Oñate's Account of his Expedition to the Great Plains in search of the elusive city of Quivira, in 1601:

"Proceeding on the day of the glorious levite and martyr, San Lorenzo," Oñate's narrative states, "God was pleased that we should begin to see those monstrous cattle



ernor William Clark,<sup>39</sup> the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the West, residing at St. Louis, for the purpose of obtaining Catholic missionaries. A Protestant preacher, who offered his services, was quickly rejected by the savages. General Clark sent the delegation to the Cathedral. Here Father Lutz heard of their wishes, and immediately decided to undertake the mission, if Bishop Rosati would consent. The Bishop was absent from St. Louis at the time, but when he returned, about September, Father Lutz gave him no rest, begging, importune, importune, that the Kansas mission be assigned to him. General Clark seconded the petition of Father Lutz, and as he was the most influential personage at the time in St. Louis, Bishop Rosati gave his consent, though somewhat reluctantly, partly on account of the youth and inexperience of the missionary, partly on account of the dearth of priests necessary for the care of the ever-growing Catholic population. The appointment was dated from the Barrens, July 23, 1828.

As you have manifested to us from the very first day of your coming to St. Louis your ardent desire of devoting yourself to the salvation of the indigenous tribes that wander through the forests of this vast diocese; and as Divine Providence seems now to open a way to the conversion of the nation called the Kansas, we, in accordance with your fervent wish, and knowing you well qualified as to the science, prudence and doctrine necessary for this undertaking, send you as messenger of the Gospel to the aforementioned people and appoint you as missionary of that and of the neighboring tribes, giving you the necessary faculties. *arbitrio nostro valituras*. In the meantime, we humbly pray the Supreme Pastor of Souls that He may deign to accompany you on your journey with His all-powerful grace, sustain you in your undertaking and give abundant fruit to your labors.<sup>40</sup>

Father Lutz was only 26 years old when he set out for the land of the Kansas. Father Saulnier in his letter to Bishop Rosati expressed grave doubts as to the young man's qualifications. Not very robust physically, of a lively disposition, impatient of contradiction, and lacking in perseverance, Father Lutz, indeed, was not the man to make an ideal missionary among savages; yet, though his zeal outran his discretion, he certainly deserves credit for his good will and for the results obtained. On July 30, 1828, the young and enthusiastic

called *cibola* (buffalo). Although they were fleet of foot, on this day four or five of the bulls were killed, which caused great rejoicing. On the following day, we saw great droves of bulls and cows, and from there on the multitude which we saw was so great that it might be considered a falsehood by one who had not seen them . . .; and they were so tame that nearly always, unless they were frightened or chased, they remained quiet and did not flee."

Marching onward, the Spaniards came to the temporary villages of the roving Escanajques (Escanasques) or Kansas Indians. "They were not a people that sowed or reaped, but lived solely on cattle (buffalo) meat," Oñate reports. "They were ruled by chiefs, and like communities that are freed from subjection to any lord, they obeyed their chiefs but little. They had large quantities of hides which, wrapped about their bodies, served as clothing; but the weather being hot, all the men went about nearly naked, the women being clothed from the waist down. Men and women alike used bows and arrows, with which they were very dexterous."

Cf. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., in *Franciscan Herald*, March, 1920.

<sup>39</sup> Governor William Clark, the companion of Meriwether Lewis on the celebrated Journey of Exploration to the Rocky Mountains, 1804-1816. Brother of George Rogers Clarke, of Kaskaskia fame, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs until his death, which occurred in St. Louis September 1, 1838.

<sup>40</sup> Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

apostle of the Kansas started, in company of the Indian Agent, Baronet Vasquez, and several others, for his destination near the mouth of the Kansas River. Baronet Vasquez was a Catholic. The great influence of this gentleman with the Indians seemed to insure the success of Father Lutz's mission. But before the end of the journey, early in August, Baronet Vasquez died and the good Father had to convey the sad news to the family of the departed. The Chouteaus had a great trading establishment on the Kansas River.<sup>41</sup> They, too, were Catholics and most of their employes also. Father Lutz speaks of the morals of these frontiersmen in rather harsh terms.<sup>42</sup> Of the savages his opinion was even worse, so much so that he declined for the present to confer baptism on any adult among them, saying "that they must first be made human beings, the members of Christ's body." As far as we know, Father Lutz sent three letters from the Kansas mission to Bishop Rosati. The first of these seems to be lost. It contained an account of the death of the Indian Agent, Baronet Vasquez. The opening sentence of the second letter, dated September 28, 1828, alludes to this unfortunate circumstance. Father Lutz's Latin letters are rather verbose, probably owing to the fact that elegant Latinity seemed most desirable in communications addressed to such an elegant Latinist as the Bishop of St. Louis certainly was. We would prefer the rugged English of a Lefevere. Yet this letter is of utmost importance and interest, and has never, as far as we are aware, been published except in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. II, September 18, 1829, in a somewhat abbreviated French translation. Our readers, we hope, will be pleased to have "the earliest record extant of the exercise of the Catholic ministry along the Kansas River," as Father Garraghan calls it, in a completed form: Absolute completeness even this version cannot claim, but the omissions we made are only of trivial matters or of more complimentary phrases, and are everywhere indicated by three dots.

*Territory of the Kansas Indians, on the river of the same name, Sept. 28, 1828.*  
Right Reverend Father, Most Illustrious Prelate:

In my first letter, sent to Your Paternity at the end of August, I gave you the news of our agent's, Mr. Vasquez' death, and at the same time I explained to you the singular condition in which Divine Providence has placed me, happily or unhappily, I cannot decide; you may judge for yourself. This one thing, however, seems certain, that I have earned many things to the advantage of my soul, which, if Mr. Vasquez had lived, I should have experienced not at all or very late. The name of the Lord be blessed. Through the death of this one man my affairs had assumed such a hopeless aspect that it became necessary for me to cast myself entirely into the arms of the all-controlling Father, just as a child casts itself upon the bosom of its mother; a course exactly befitting one

<sup>41</sup> "The Chouteaus," as Father Garraghan states in his beautiful booklet, 'Catholic Beginnings of Kansas City,' "were the most prominent of the early Indian traders in the region around the mouth of the Kaw," p. 47, giving as references in regard to the various Chouteau trading houses an article in *Kansas Historical Collection*, No. 9, pp. 573-574.

<sup>42</sup> The letters of Father Lutz from the country of the Kansas contain a few scathing denunciations of treacherous, lying and stealing white trash he met on his excursions. Of the Chouteaus themselves he speaks in the highest terms of respect.

who has accepted the Lord as his inheritance and the chalice of salvation, and now realizes that he has come to that part of his grand office to be the messenger of Christ the Lord, sent out by Him into the wide world, without scrip or staff. But these usual accompaniments of the lives of Christ's missionaries, have been sufficiently dwelt upon in my first letter; if perhaps more than proper, I would ask your pardon for the beginner, who at that time had not learned to bear the glorious cross of Christ in silence, without the noise of many words, but is now learning, through the grace of God, to think little of all these things, however burdensome they be, as long as Christ is preached to the poor. May the Lord preserve this good will and greatly strengthen it. Now I will briefly explain what has been done so far, what must yet be done, and why I have not sent a letter ere this, all which matters I know you wish to know.

You Grace must realize that, owing to the great distance between the settlements here, it is very difficult to send letters from this country. The agent's house, where I fixed my residence, is on the banks of the Kansas River sixty-five miles from the former home of the late Mr. Vasquez.<sup>43</sup> The little towns, however, which supply mailing facilities, are more than fifteen miles away. Therefore, when we wish this thing to be done, we have either to take our letters there ourselves or send them by a trusted messenger. One of these towns is named Liberty, the other Independence. The latter town is situated on our side of the Missouri River, the former on the opposite side. . . . The town of Liberty I was not as yet able to visit, but in a little while I can and must do so, as I am resolved to see the entire surrounding region. Independence I have visited but once, and at times I have sent messengers there for my mail, if there was any. Camp Leavenworth, which is 35 miles from our home, has no service of public conveyances, so that its inhabitants are forced to send their mail to Liberty, a distance of 36 miles. Considering these facts, you will certainly not blame me if you should fail to receive a letter from me. . . . In regard to this preliminary visit to the country of the Indians, it must be confessed that it was altogether necessary. I myself feel deeply its various advantages. I will relate them briefly: It is there I began to learn the very alphabet of apostolical life, to accustom the body to its hardships, and to put a correct estimate on the greatness as well as the excellence of my office; then to know the Indian ways of living, their mode of feeling and their superstitions, the various conditions of these regions and the distance between places; to understand the characters of the various persons with whom I certainly or probably may have to live, to decide what persons should be consulted, what persons avoided by me, who of them are of good will, who of evil disposition. I also learned the peculiarities of the Kansas dialect, wherein it seemed different from our idioms, and what special difficulties it offered; lastly, I was helped to decide where the missionaries' residence should be established, what provisions could be made for their sustenance, and what matters we should lay before the civil authorities. I hope and wish that an occasion may be offered when I can speak to you about these matters. Now permit me to recount in detail how my time in these parts was passed. I departed from St. Louis on July 30th; on August 12th I arrived at the former home of Mr. Vasquez, the Indian agent, where I remained five days before starting for the Kansas River; on August 19th I reached the house erected by the government on the banks of the Kansas River. On August 20 I had the first interview with the chief of the Kansas nation; on August 24, I, together with an interpreter, visited the family of the chief and other families, sixteen in number, living only about two miles from our stopping place; and this I did several times. On September 17th I obtained my fervent wish of organizing a meeting with the barbarians. On September 18th, I set out for Camp Leavenworth, where I remained six days, certainly longer than I had intended. On October 1st I will return to the home of Mrs. Vasquez, as I find no means of subsistence here, and the Kansas tribe, with the exception of three families, has already gone on its hunting excursion. These things, here mentioned in a general way, you may be pleased to read at greater length. The house of the agent, Vasquez, on the

<sup>43</sup> Baronet Vasquez, son of Benito Vasquez, of St. Louis, was of Spanish extraction.



banks of the Missouri River, was heretofore considered the meeting place of the Indians, but now, after his death, the visits of the Indians are becoming less frequent, the house of the new agent having been established elsewhere, I believe on the Kansas River. The widow Vasquez still resides at the old house. She is a matron of great piety. She has a small family, but a well-educated one; she takes good care of me, almost as if I were one of the children of the household, providing me with the necessities of life on my journey; she shines forth with good example in frequenting the sacraments and practicing devotion; and she edifies her family with her virtues. Not so the other Catholics, alas! that live in the neighborhood. They are "slothful bellies," not much different from the Cretans, addicted to drink and much talking, ignorant, to pass over in silence the rest of their vices. I except two or three persons from this charge. Some of them live with Indian concubines, refusing the grace which is offered to them by my ministry. Only two could I prevail upon to dismiss their concubines and contract in legitimate marriages. The third one tried to deceive me, but in vain.

I leave this corner of the earth with no small regret, but I feel a stronger impulse towards the Barbarians, and I desire to arrive among them as early as possible, as it is to be feared that, through a longer delay I might find the chief of the nation (Nombe-ware,<sup>44</sup> i. e., the Furious, or Moushouska, White Plume), no longer among the living. Having been ailing for a long time he began to carry things to extremes, and that is a two-fold manner. Indignant at the evils that had befallen him, White Plume, armed with a pistol, rushed forth and threatening death to God, directed a shot towards heaven, exclaiming, "Oh, would that I had destroyed thee this time for having sent so many evils to my family and to my whole nation!" (During the past year about 180 of the Kansas tribe, together with the chief's principal wife, two sons and many other members of his family, were taken by death). As White Plume's illness became worse, he repented of his word and deed and earnestly asked forgiveness from Heaven. But God delayed hearing the prayer of the sick man and willed that the barbarian should begin to improve in health only two days before my advent. White Plume was hardly notified of my coming when he gathered all his strength and had himself placed on a horse, in order to welcome the Taborco<sup>45</sup> (the name by which he always addressed me). I was greatly surprised at seeing him enter my room, especially as rumors were current that he had died. I ran to meet him, and as he seemed to stagger, I supported him with my hand, offered him a chair and pressed his proffered hand. He that was wont to speak with stentorian voice now gave forth such a gentle whisper that the meaning of his words could hardly be gathered by the interpreters: "O, my Father, you are welcome. At last you are here whom I have so long desired. I am happy; but I would rejoice still more if I could celebrate your coming in perfect health. May the Great Healer (Washkanta) I pray, restore my health. It is my intention to assist you in all things that you wish to do among the Kansas. My only son (the others had all died), I will send to be educated by you as soon as you have a home. In the same way all the chiefs of our nation in my obedience shall act towards you. How long will you stay with us? When will you have a house? Remember this: Do not have your house too far away from mine. The nearer it is the more it will please me, so that I may consult with you in the government of the

<sup>44</sup> White Plume, or the Furious, it will be remembered, had been in St. Louis early in May, 1827, to ask for a missionary for his people. In St. Louis he met a number of the clergy, probably also Father de la Croix, the future missionary to the Osages. Washington Irving, in his "Adventures of Captain Bonnaville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West," gives a pleasant account of the old chief in 1832; when White Plume gave proofs of having acquired some of the lights of civilization from his proximity to the whites, as was evinced in his knowledge of driving a bargain. He required hard cash in return for some corn with which he supplied the worthy captain, and left the latter at a loss which most do admire, his native chivalry as a brave, or his acquired adroitness as a trader." Irving, Captain Bonnaville, ch. II. From the same account it appears that the Kansas had begun to raise corn, but had not left off their hunting excursions. White Plume was still inhabiting the great stone house on the Kansas River, "a palace without a wigwam within," as Irving says. The Kansas were still at war with the Pawnees.

<sup>45</sup> The Tabosco is the Kansas word for Black Gown, or Black Robe, meaning the Catholic priest. "Washkanta," also Wakonda, is the Great Spirit.

Kansas. I am not able to talk with you very long to-day, my voice having become so weakened; but I am expecting our hunters, who will bring me buffalo meat, with which I can regain strength." Knowing full well what authority this great chief wielded among his people and how necessary it was for the prosperous course of my undertaking, I determined to leave no stone unturned in order to restore his health. I wanted to give him medicine, to keep him in my house and to take watchful care of the sick man, but prudence objected to all those things; if he should die using my medicines this whole wild and superstitious nation would blame me. The two interpreters, who stood by, seemed to hint at the same thing. I, therefore, superseded the medicine with a goblet of rich wine, after drinking which the chief said that it had warmed his stomach, and begged earnestly that after a few days I should send him another specimen of the same medicine. This I readily promised to do.

Returning home he sent ten messengers, men and women, in various directions, to meet the hunters and to announce the coming of Tabosco. They smoked in honor of Tabosco on the whole journey, they sang and shouted for joy. At last the inhabitants of the four villages arrived from their long journey and brought heaps of buffalo meat. White Plume overflows with vigor, enjoying as perfect health as he did when he was most robust. Two chiefs brought me a very large portion of buffalo meat, and they stood wondering at me eating of it, although it was not cooked. "Behold," one said, "Tabosco has no aversion to us. He is not squeamish and delicate, as the Fathers of the Osages," meaning thereby the Protestant missionaries). "Do you not see in his eyes how he loves us, how affable he is," said one to another in a low voice. They desired to spend the night in my bedroom, and I readily obliged them. Like two satellites they enclosed me, lying on the floor in the middle of my room, one on my right side, the other on my left. With great big eyes they looked at me performing my morning prayers. They hardly dared to breathe. Having returned home the next day, White Plume visited me once more. But he now spoke in loud tones, talking much of his joy and that of the entire tribe and asking many questions. He enquired attentively of Tabosco, what is the purpose of his mission, what are the causes which led him to stay with them four months of this year, what education he would give the children, and what obedience would be required. At last I suggested that I desired very much he should, as opportunity offered, convoke the other Kansas, to whom I could then explain the things I had at heart. He answered that this could hardly be done before the middle of September, because not all would be back from their hunting excursion before that time. It would seem more satisfactory, he said, to select the time when they would come together for the government's annual distribution of gifts. I acquiesced and dismissed the man. I then began to cut the timbers and to adorn the chapel. When I had finished this work I took care to examine the country and to consider what I must build if I should happen to come to reside here. White Plume now visited me for the third time: "Write," he said, "to Red Hair (General W. Clark),<sup>46</sup> that as Vasquez is dead, he should send us another agent who will properly attend to our affairs. We do not want an American. We ask for a Frenchman, certainly none other than Cyprian or Francis Chouteau. The five other chiefs of the Kansas are likewise in favor of these two. Sign my name and the names of these, and urge at the same time your own undertaking, so that you can more easily and more quickly come to stay with us. I have great hopes that our nation will, by your help, be shortly changed for the better."

I wrote immediately commending their request and my own to the governor and, impatient of delay I expected the new agent from day to day. And, behold, there arrived Mr. Dunnay McNair,<sup>47</sup> a youth of about twenty years sent by

<sup>46</sup> In 1832 a brother of the General Clark of Columbia River fame was Indian Agent among the Kansas, as successor to Vasquez and Dunnay McNair. Cf. *Bonneville's Adventures*, ch. II.

<sup>47</sup> Dunning McNair, son of the first Governor of Missouri, Alexander McNair, was a Catholic, although his father probably never became affiliated with the church. Cf. Edward Brown's Sketch of the Life of Alexander McNair, in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, vol. I, p. 231 s. s.

Governor Clark, who has no little confidence in the young man. He is to take the place of the agent with the Kansas. Governor Clark, having been advised by me of the death of Mr. Vasquez, had immediately appointed him, not having as yet received my first letter. The young man is a Catholic of good morals, and endowed with sufficient knowledge, sincere and prudent, a friend and defender of religion, most attentive to his work, and friendly to me. We do not yet know whether he will be agent with full power or not. He helps me very much by his authority and his kindness. He frequently says that nothing is to be despaired of (*nil desperandum*), under the auspices of Governor Clark, who really takes great interest in the success of the mission, and he assures me that the sale of thirty-six sections of land will certainly be held in the month of October or November, and then our work could be begun. The vice-agent requested White Plume to call an assembly of the Indians, telling them that he wished to explain some matters to them in council. The messengers go out and call together the warriors of four of the villages. The third day after the call had gone out about two hundred and forty Indians from the surrounding country come there and listen to what the vice-agent might proclaim. For the whole day the Kansas remain in session. The medals are distributed and the laws and the treaties are explained, the thieves are whipped, and the cultivation of the land is urgently recommended, and the permanent location in one village is demanded. The Tabosco is presented to them. The annual distribution is promised when the Kansas shall assemble at Fort Leavenworth, and many other things are approved. The barbarians agreed with almost everything except the plan of permanently locating in one village, and abandoning their hunting life. Rumors, clamors and complaints arose, but in vain. With all my strength I urged the necessity of the matter contained in the first point (uniting the tribe in one village), and I argued against the foolish and destructive plan adopted by them, to remove their home a hundred and fifty miles from our house. (This, a large party among them had decided on, against the wishes of White Plume, at the very time that they returned from their hunting grounds, and had seen for the first time the elegant place offering such various conveniences). They now understand how proper and useful it would be to unite in one village, where all their tents should be fixed. The place selected at a distance of about one day's journey, was approved by all with the exception of a few stiff-necked people, who, however, have to follow the crowd. After having visited, as I hope to do, the four villages, I will examine the proposed location and describe it in my next letter. The agent now having finished what he wished to propose, I arose and demanded in a loud voice that all should remain the next day also, as I had some things to announce to them. The next day at 8 o'clock all were gathered in the chapel, which is as large as the study hall in St. Louis College. They all assembled at the ringing of the bell. Those present were the new agent, two interpreters, three other Catholics; a large altar, beautifully ornamented, the picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the middle of the altar, on the right side a large crucifix, on the left a picture of the sorrowful Virgin of the same size. The Tabosco, clad in his sacred vestments, gravely walked from his chamber and entered the chapel. All genuflect, the *Veni Creator* with the oration is intoned. High Mass is sung. At the consecration all are commanded to bend the knee, there is deep silence. After the Mass all sit down. Tabosco stands at the epistle side and preaches. After every sentence the barbarians exclaim "How!" That is, "Good!" It would take too long to repeat word for word what I said; let it suffice that I preached on the purpose of my coming and mission, on the desire of my heart to procure the salvation of all the Kansas, on the One God and His attributes, making no mention, for the present, of the Trinity, on God the Creator and Giver of all good, on the human soul being immortal, on God the Judge and Rewarder, on the eternal fire, and the joys of Heaven, on sin and the sins in particular, to which the Kansas are specially addicted, or the necessity of hearing Tabosco's preaching, on the obedience due to him, on Christ the Lord crucified, on the gratitude to God, who is now offering to them his



grace in abundance; lastly, on the education of their children, to be undertaken by us, on the raising of the Holy Cross among them, and on the visits to be made to the four villages, and the children to be baptized. These are in brief the things which I had explained to them in our first meeting. The ceremony concluded with the canticle '*Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*' and the 'Our Father' and the 'Hail Mary.' The Canticle pleased them very much. Their tears flowed in the presence of the Crucified Lord. They repeated to one another what they had heard, one the things concerning heaven, the other the things concerning hell, another the sufferings of Christ. "Ah," exclaimed White Plume, "how I was enlightened to-day!" "Wazzeche, wazzeche," that is, how good to have a Tabasco! others exclaimed. But I sigh; give me souls, O Jesus; may thy kingdom come. As regards the baptism of the infants, it is very much desired by the Kansas. This reason, besides others, moved me to promise then in public not to return to St. Louis before I had baptized all the little ones; especially as so many of them have died since the time I came here. Indeed, an old man, when dying, asked day and night, to see the Tabasco, in order to receive baptism. He was deprived of baptism by a sad circumstance and died, leaving to his relatives his anxieties about their future state and the punishments to be undergone by them unless they were willing to receive the salutary waters. Certainly, a firm faith in this sacrament, forcing others also to believe in it. At the time when this Indian called me I was detained at Fort Leavenworth. After the death of the old man the family asked me what I thought concerning his doom. Having given the proper answer I sent the greatly relieved inquirers home.

Perhaps Your Paternity will ask, why I have not already made my home in the country of the barbarians. This I had certainly wished to do and already fixed the day on which I should undertake the journey with an interpreter, but the contrary seemed to be more advisable on account of the celebration of certain feasts, which occupy the barbarians for the space of two weeks, and which are the occasion of great tumult, drunkenness and strife. I preferred to postpone the visit rather than expose my dignity to insult. I take great care to preserve the authority of my person, never tolerating even the least thing contrary to the respect due to me. In the beginning some loose women of the barbarians began to uncover their bodies immodestly in my presence, to whom I said indignantly that they should cover themselves or go away. On another occasion, when I happened to see some immodest women lying on the floor of our house, surpassing the former ones in looseness, I took to flight and requested the interpreter to report the matter to White Plume, which, having been done, I never had another similar experience.

Two warriors have been assigned to me, to be at my service, but only when I am exercising my religious functions. It is their office to preserve order and silence whilst I say Mass or preach, to accompany me and to close the door, and call the people to church by ringing the bell. This is considered a great honor and much desired by many. Having explained to them their duties, I promised to give each one a little cross when I should return from St. Louis. The name of the one is "Tatsche Sagai" (Wild Wind): of the other, "Nikananseware" (Exterminator of Men). Let me add a few words on the location of the buildings erected by the government on the banks of the Kansas River. Fancy a valley, half a league wide and long, with five large houses, of which one is for the agent of the nation, the second for the interpreter, the third for the blacksmith, the fourth for the farming expert, the fifth, built of stone, is for White Plume. The first four follow one another in a straight line, the fifth is two miles farther on. As to the mission house, I intend to build it where the air is purer, if this be agreeable to the Governor and to the other members of the mission. The soil is most fertile; there are many forest patches all around, but not too many; but the salubrity of the air is not the same everywhere. Every newcomer is forced to pay tribute to the bilious fevers and chills obtaining here. In all these parts around the Missouri and Kansas Rivers there is nothing more usual than that the new settler is attacked by fevers, headaches and pains of the stomach. I for myself had the bilious fever five days; after that I felt well and had an insatiable appetite. The air at Camp Leavenworth is even worse.

Just now there are at least one hundred persons there on the sick list. I went there with the vice-agent (McNair), the interpreter, and 108 of the Indians, to attend the annual distribution of gifts to the tribesmen. At first I felt very well; on the third day I myself and Mr. McNair had to fight against an attack of chills and fever for the space of four days. Here I heard the confessions of two soldiers, one an Irishman and the other a Frenchman; I baptized six infants and comforted the sick. I will go there once more in the beginning of November, to baptize a number of the infants of the officers and to perform the other religious functions. I was received with the highest honors by the officers, who invited me to their mess, and in the evening entertained me with military music. I have distributed various books, of which I have a great number, treating of the Truth of the Catholic Faith. There is a murderer in the prison, soon to suffer the death penalty. I will try to convert the doomed man and to prepare him for death. I have baptized at other places and at different times 28 infants, and shall baptize many more.

Of the other Indian nations I have visited only the Shawneons, who seem to be more intent on acquiring temporal goods than those that will last forever. Their time seems not yet come. Nevertheless, I will try again and see if an opening can be made there. It would, indeed, be gratifying if I could win to Christ this tribe, living along our way in elegant houses. An invitation to visit the Iowa tribe, about 60 miles from our house, was extended to me by their agent, General Us, who also promised to do what he could to provide shelter and food for me, if I should decide to take up my abode with his nation. The next neighbors of the Iowas are the Ottawas, who use about the same language. This journey cannot possibly be made, that is, at present, because the agent is now absent from home, to return to those tribes only about the middle of November. The gifts you intended for White Plume I have delivered and thereby given great pleasure to the chief. The barbarity and superstition of the Kansas tribe is too great to find ready belief. Therefore, I am in no hurry to admit any adult to holy baptism. They must first be made human beings, then members of Christ's body.

To-morrow I will go to the home of Mrs. Baronette Vasquez to prepare her several daughters for First Holy Communion and instruct the faithful in the duties of Christian life.

I kiss your paternal hand, the hand of our Common Father. Your most obedient son,

JOSEPH ANTHONY LUTZ,  
Missionary Priest with the Kansas.

This letter held out great hopes for the imminent conversion of the Kansas Indians: yet the work seemed beyond the power and endurance of our man. Father Lutz, White Plume's Tabosco, never returned to the promising field. On November 12, 1828, he wrote his last letter *Ex Agro Kansas Rivi* to his beloved bishop. It contains only a few points of minor interest. The reasons for his premature return to St. Louis are an early and probably very severe winter, and the hopelessness of achieving any good in the unknown and pathless country. The Kansas had promised to return home by the end of October, and had even now, November 12, given no sign of fulfilling their promise," thus making it doubtful whether the Tabosco could administer baptism to all their children before his departure for St. Louis." It seemed they were purposely delaying their home-coming. It would, therefore, be their own fault if their children should not receive the sacrament of regeneration. As to the mission-cross, I will in any case, erect and bless it, if not solemnly, then privately, in the presence of some of the Kansas.

The last month he had spent at the home of Mrs. Vasquez, teach-

ing, preaching, baptizing, hearing confessions and saying Mass. "Visiting the town of Liberty, he found but one Catholic in the whole place, the wife of Dr. Curtiss, a native of St. Louis." His attempts to visit Fort Leavenworth once more was frustrated by his guide, who left him, *media in via*, so that he had to return home. Messrs. Francis, Cyprian and Frederick Chouteau were putting up a grand building on the Kansas River, which would serve as the Emporium, or trading post, for all the Shawneons and Kansas. "Francis Chouteau treats me very kindly and promises me his continued support," Father Lutz concludes his last letter from the Kansas River. His missionary attempt was but a faint promise of the greater things to come.<sup>48</sup>

#### V. JESUIT MISSIONS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

The ancient glories of the Jesuit Missions of the Illinois were to be renewed in a measure beyond the great river, far to the west; but the rise and progress of this new effort is intimately connected with certain dishonorable dealings of our government, State and national, in regard to the nations that once possessed the land from ocean to ocean. Treaty upon treaty was made and broken with disastrous consequences, until the Indian has almost vanished from the face of the earth. "A Century of Dishonor" is the title of the book that treats of our broken faith with the Indians. It is a sad story, but well worth our attention. As we proceed in our sketch we will meet with a few examples of our burning shame.

"The government of the United States," says an elegant writer, probably Father O'Hanlon, in the November number, 1843, of the *Catholic Cabinet* of St. Louis, "having deemed it good policy to concentrate the aborigines of the country, commonly called Indians, assigned for this purpose a territory, beyond which, within a distance of 1500 miles, no suitable habitation for white men can be made. This Indian territory is bounded by the States of Missouri and Arkansas towards the east, by the so-called American desert on the west; by Texas on the south, and by the Missouri and Platte rivers to the north. It has been assigned as the permanent abode of the various Indian tribes scattered throughout the Union. The Pawnees, Omahas, Kansas, Osages and Missourians roamed at large over the lands of this territory, before this plan was adopted by our government, which as a necessary consequence of the new appropriation, was obliged to confine them within certain limits; and to persuade them to cede part of their lands to their red brethren east of the Mississippi. In consequence of this arrangement the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Senecas, Pottowatomies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Otoes, Miamis, Shawanees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Iowas, and Foxes, emigrated—some by force, others by persuasion, but all most unwillingly from the various States of the Union to the respective portions of the territory assigned to them by the U. S. Government. The original inhabitants of this territory are called the indigenous tribes, and are savage and wretched to the extreme; the emigrant tribes are more or less civilized, according to the different relations they have had with the settlers of the States. The whole number of the Indians of this territory amounts to about 80,000 souls. With regard to their numbers, it may be observed that they appear gradually to decrease, owing to their inordinate mode of living, their vicious habits, the unsuitableness of the soil, the change of air by emigration, etc. So that they may be said, in the language of the Prophet Osee, "to disappear as early dew that passeth away—as the dust that is driven with a whirlwind out of the floor—and as the smoke out of the chimney (c. 13, v. 3).

<sup>48</sup> Archives of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.



It is true that the emigrant tribes have some civilization; but, generally speaking, with all the vices of the white men, they have brought few or none of their virtues over to the Indian wilds.

Many efforts at converting these unhappy children of the wilderness had been made, as we have seen, and were being made by the representatives of various Christian denominations; but these divisions and consequent dissensions proved the chief stumbling block to their success. Our author continues:

The state of our Holy Religion is truly deplorable among these unhappy people. Almost all the tribes are in favor of Catholic missionaries, and feel a kind of natural aversion to Protestant preachers. And yet, in the absence of the former the latter are almost everywhere to be found; and the whole territory has about 30 Protestant missionary establishments. But every plantation not made by the hand of the Father shall be rooted out. Vain are the efforts of these unsent apostles to make proselytes among the Indians. They may, indeed, scatter hundreds of Bibles among the savages; but these are neither prized nor understood. The principle that faith is to be conceived by the Bible—and by the Bible alone—proves quite incomprehensible to the illiterate and savage mind; and the consequence is that all the Protestant congregations of the Indian territory do not amount to 500 souls.

While a few of the Indians, whose devotion is bought and paid for, like any other marketable commodity, are nominal adherents to Protestantism; while thousands daily worship their Manitos and indulge in all the excesses of unbridled licentiousness; the voice of the Catholic Church is almost unheard, except on the banks of Sugar Creek, tributary stream of the north fork of the Osage River. We would, however, willingly indulge the hope that within a few years a line of Catholic Missions may be established from the Missouri River down to Texas—a plan by no means difficult of execution, and one which would be of incalculable advantage to religion. The field is large and the harvest promising, but the laborers are by far too few.<sup>49</sup>

These fond hopes, held out in 1843, were not realized, owing to the rapid changes in the political and social conditions of these regions, as well as to the vices and weaknesses of the Indians themselves. Yet great efforts were made by the Church and untold good was accomplished in behalf of the Indians, as our author shows:

Twenty years ago the zealous Bishop of Upper and Lower Louisiana, Louis William Valentine Du Bourg, directed the views of his ever active zeal towards the unfortunate Indians, especially the Osages. With the co-operation of the Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, then Superior of the Jesuits of Missouri, two schools were opened for Indian youths in the township of Florissant, near St. Louis; the Indian boys were placed under the charge of the Jesuits, and the girls under that of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. To enable them to succeed in this undertaking, the reverend gentlemen under whose care the schools were placed, applied to the government for a moderate annual income from the sum annually appropriated for the civilization of the Indians. This request was readily complied with, but the greatest obstacle to success was found to consist in the unwillingness of the Indian youth to quit their parents' home, their sports and their games, and to go to a distant place for the purpose of acquiring the learning which they so little valued. It was soon discovered that to establish missionary stations among the Indians in their own country would be a more successful and less difficult enterprise. In consequence, this having been deter-

<sup>49</sup> *Catholic Cabinet*, St. Louis, vol. I, p. 406.

<sup>50</sup> *Catholic Cabinet*, vol. I, p. 407.

mined on, the Rev. Charles de la Croix, then missionary in the State of Missouri, now a Canon Regular in Ghent, set out on a visit to the Osages—one of the most savage of the Indian tribes. His efforts were blessed with success, and records now before us prove that the number of children baptized by him on that occasion was very large and the number of marriages he blessed not inconsiderable. Shortly after he was followed by the Rev. C. Van Quickenborne, who also visited the Osage nation, and who was particularly successful in inducing the chiefs and headmen of the tribe to send their sons and daughters to St. Louis County. The schools, composed of Osage, Iowa and Iroquois youths, flourished for a few years, but were finally broken up, in consequence of the complaints of their parents, on seeing their children separated from them by such a distance, as also of the disinclination of the young Indians to bend under the yoke of discipline.<sup>61</sup>

The first idea of Father Van Quickenborne to convert the tribes by separating the children from the parents during the most pliant years of their lives and instructing them in the practice of the true religion and in the ways of civilized life, having proved impracticable, at least on a larger scale, the old Jesuit plan of establishing missionary centers among the Indians, with churches, schools, and a kind of paternal authority, even in civil matters, was taken up and carried forward with gratifying results. We will quote the final chapter of the account as contained in the *Catholic Cabinet*:

In 1835 the Rev. Father Van Quickenborne paid a missionary visit to the Miamis, on the north fork of the Osage River. They are the small remnants of four once powerful nations, the Kaskaskias, the Peorias, the Weas and the Piankeshaws. He was received by them with great joy; and many of them, having been baptized in their infancy by the priests who attended the old French villages in Illinois, showed unfeigned readiness to enroll themselves anew under the standard of the cross. They seemed to be indifferently pleased with the Methodist station, established among them, and willingly promised to return to the faith of their fathers, among whom the Jesuit missionaries had so successfully labored during the early part of the last century. An old woman, whose gray hair and bent-up form showed that she had belonged to by-gone times, crawled up to the missionary, grasped his hand with a strong expression of exultation, and pronounced him to be a true black gown, sent to instruct her hapless and neglected nation. She had lived at least a score of winters longer than any other of her tribe, but yet she distinctly remembered to have been prepared for her first communion by one of the Jesuits who attended the flourishing mission of Kaskaskias. His name she could not bring to mind, but described his dress and features in a manner to show what a deep impression this recollection of her early youth continued to make on her mind. She also gave a description of the old church of Kaskaskia; recited her prayers and sang a Canticle in the language of the tribe. She told the missionary that her constant prayer had been that her tribe, now exiled and almost extinct, might have the happiness to see a true black gown among them. She congratulated those around her on the occasion and cried out, like Simeon, that her eyes had seen him now, and that she was ready to mix her bones with those of her fathers. Her death, which took place a few days after, was a great loss to the missionary. As she was the only person who knew the prayers in the Indian language, and the only one who appeared to have kept herself untainted by the general depravity of those by whom she was surrounded.

The few remaining Miamis have never had any permanent Catholic mission in their situation; yet they continue to be visited at time. Among them, however, in their original residence, near Chicago, Father Marquette, the first explorer of the Mississippi, labored as early as 1675. In 1836 the first Catholic

<sup>61</sup> *Catholic Cabinet*, vol. I, 407 and 408.

Missionary settlement was made among the Indians of this territory. The Rev. C. Van Quickenborne, of the Society of Jesus, with Father Hoeken and two lay brothers, opened a mission among the Kickapoos. Suitable buildings were erected, a neat chapel built, and the zeal of the missionaries was displayed in almost incessant labors by day and by night; but the soil proved for the time ungrateful<sup>52</sup>

Of these beginnings of Father Van Quickenborne's missionary labors among the Indians of Missouri and the Indian Territory, we will place before our readers the account given in 1840 by the Rev. P. J. Verhagen, S.J., Provincial of Missouri, to the Most Reverend Archbishop and Rt. Rev. Bishop in Provincial Council assembled:

The Indian missions having been entrusted to the care of this western portion of the Society of Jesus, by the prelates of the United States, we deem it a duty to lay before them some particulars respecting their establishment, progress and future prospects. No sooner was this wide field opened to our labors than the Rev. Father Van Quickenborne, of happy memory, with his characteristic zeal began to make preparations to open a mission among the nearest tribes. For this purpose, he visited several of the Atlantic cities, in order to procure the necessary funds. He succeeded, after great exertions, in collecting about fifteen hundred dollars. On the 20th day of May, 1836, he set out, in company with another Father and two lay brothers for the Indian country, and arrived at his destination among the Kickapoos, on the 1st of June of the same year. The agent of these Indians, not being, at first, favorably disposed, refused the requisite permission for building a house and when at length he consented, the season was so far advanced that all the funds at the disposal of the missionaries were expended in raising a frame building 24x20 feet, and several months passed before it was ready for their accommodation. In the meantime they availed themselves of the kindness of a trader, who offered them his log cabin. When the new building was completed it served as a chapel, school and dwelling. About twenty children frequented the school—the chapel was well attended on Sundays—some few received into the church and many infants baptized. This first establishment has continued to progress, slowly indeed, but steadily, and affords a better prospect every year. The latest letters of the missionary give an account of twenty adult baptisms. If the success has not corresponded to the labors and expense, it is owing, first, to the presence and opposition of a Methodist minister who lives among them, to the vicinity of the whites, to the difficulties which was always attend the commencement of such establishments, for instance, the absence of all facilities for the acquirement of the language, etc.<sup>53</sup>

More explicit data as to the progress of the Kickapoo station, including the Kansas Mission near Chouteau's trading house, then the settlements of Plattsburg and Liberty, the mission among the Wyandotts, and lastly Fort Leavenworth, are given in Father Hoeken's Report for 1837. The mission among the Kickapos, to use the original spelling, was begun in the month of June, 1836. The church was blessed on Passion Sunday, and Father Van Quickenborne had hardly left the mission (July 20, 1837), when he died and was succeeded by Father Felix Verreidt. The mission among the Kansas, after the brief visit of Father Lutz, was founded about the same time as that among the Kickapoo. Plattsburg and Liberty date from November, 1837; the Wyandotte mission, as well as Fort Leavenworth from about the same time.

<sup>52</sup> *Catholic Cabinet*, vol. I, 408 and 409.

<sup>53</sup> Original in Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.



This account finds an interesting supplement in the report of Father H. G. Aelen, S.J., dated September 25, 1839:

On the 25th of September, 1839, he, as superior of the missions, writes from Sugar Creek concerning the Kickapoo station:

The church, which is under the invocation of St. Francis Xavier, is regularly attended three times a month, the number of the faithful is about 20. There is an English school attached to this mission. The resident clergyman is Father A. Eisvogels, S.J., *Fort Leavenworth*. This station is regularly attended by the Rev. A. Eisvogels, S.J., once a month. The congregation is very flourishing, and a great deal of fruit has been reaped, especially of late, both among the soldiers and the workmen. The Rev. Eisvogels, S.J., visits also occasionally Liberty in Clay County and Plattsburg in Clinton County, Missouri.

After a brief account of the Pottawattomie Mission, which we shall quote later on, the Report of Father Aelen continues:

*Ottawas Station.* A band of about 300 of this nation resides on the left bank of the "mer des cygnes," otherwise the Osage River. It is regularly visited every second month by the Rev. H. G. Aelen, S.J. (from the Pottawattomie Mission). The congregation, counting about 20 adults, is zealous, and the prospects for proselytes is very fair. Their language is mostly like that of the Pottawatomes.

*Miamis Station,* comprising the four combined nations, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Weas and Piankeshaws. This station on the left bank of the "Mer des Cygnes," in the Peorias village, has been formed in July last, i. e. 1838, and is attended every second month by the Rev. H. G. Aelen, S.J., who also attends three times a year the church at Westport and the missionary station of Independence, in Jackson County, Missouri.

Concerning the Miami Station, composed, as it was, of the Weas and Piankeshaws, the Kaskaskias and Peorias, Shea says on the authority of the *Annales*, that originally Catholics of the Illinois Missions, many of them had become Protestants. The Wea and the Kaskaskia chiefs had, however, remained Catholic. When Father Quickenborne asked the assembled people whether they had become Protestants, all were silent, till a woman, with tears, acknowledged it, "believing it better to be something than to have no worship."<sup>54</sup> This visit of Father Van Quickenborne was his last work among the Indians. The great missionary retired to Portage des Sioux at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, where he died August 17, 1837. The founder was now dead, but his good work of reclaiming and keeping the Indians for Christ went on without interruption, and with remarkable success.

It is the celebrated Pottawattomie Mission of whose origin and progress I must now give a brief account. The Pottawattomie Indians were a branch of the great Algonquin family, and, at the opening of our western history were in possession of the southern confines of Lake Michigan from Chicago on the west to South Bend on the east. Having come in contact with the Jesuit missionaries at an early date, many Catholics, sometimes entire bands, were numbered among them. Their mission of St. Joseph, near what is now South Bend, in Indiana, became famous as a center of religious influence. But the rapid spread of the

<sup>54</sup> Report in Diocesan Chancery, St. Louis.

white population tolled the parting knell of this Indian mission, as well as of the great nation itself. The remnants only reached their new home in what was then called the Indian Territory, that is, all the Louisiana Purchase, with the exception of the States of Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana. All Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and the present Indian Territory, with Oklahoma, were considered unfit for white settlers, and therefore, given over to the Indians forever. Before 1838 two great bands of the Pottawotomies had been removed beyond the Mississippi and assigned new homes along the boundary of the State of Missouri, and here, as Father Verhaegen, S.J., the Provincial of the Jesuits informs the Fathers of the Provincial Council assembled at Baltimore, May 3, 1840:

A second mission (after the Kickapoo station) was established in 1838 among the Pottawotomies on the Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, about five hundred miles west of the Kickapoo station. Two Fathers and two lay brothers commenced this establishment on the 31st of May of the same year. On their arrival they received from the chief four log cabins for a school, dwelling and other purposes, and from the United States officer a block house (24 feet square), which serves as a chapel. One of the Fathers devotes four hours every day to the instruction of the children in the Christian doctrine; the other makes frequent excursions among the neighboring tribes, and according to his report, has baptized many children—nearly two hundred adults have been admitted to the holy communion—the practice of bigamy has been in a great measure removed, etc. The accounts from this station are of the most cheering character and describe in glowing terms the happy disposition of thousands of these poor children of the forest, particularly of the women and children.<sup>55</sup>

The "two Fathers" were the celebrated Peter De Smet and his companion, Felix Verreidt, one of the brothers was Andrew Mazelli, the other George Miles. These Prairie "Pottawotomies" were a mixture of various tribal remnants, the Pottawotomies predominating and giving their name to the entire people. One of their leaders was the celebrated half-breed chief, Billy Caldwell, from Chicago, who had helped to found the first church in that city under Father St. Cyr. The block house given to the missionaries by Colonel Kearney was originally built as a fort, but as the troops had departed there was no need of a fort, and so it was converted into a church, the only church in Council Bluffs for a number of years. It was still in existence in 1855. The mission was placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. Yet, though promising good results, the Pottawotomie mission at Council Bluffs was not without its scandals:

From time to time the medicine men would excite greatest trouble. Polygamy, too presented its fearful obstacle, requiring as it did, a restraint on the passions, to which these children of the wilderness were not accustomed; while intoxication, the deadly bane of the red man, at times converted their towns into images of hell.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

<sup>56</sup> J. G. Shea, *American Catholic Missions*, p. 463. Cf. Francis Cassilly, S.J. *Oldest Jesuit Mission in Council Bluffs*. Reprint from the *Creighton Chronicle*, February, 1917.

The very year of the foundation of the Pottawotomie Mission near Council Bluffs was to witness the third great immigration of Pottawotomies, mostly Catholics, coming from the neighborhood of St. Joseph's, on the southern shore of Lake Michigan. Let us hear what Father Verhaegen has to say about this matter:

In the same year (1838), six hundred Catholic Pottawotomies from Indiana, who were accompanied, in their removal, by the late Rev. Fr. Petit, on reaching their destination, were transferred by him to the care of one of our Fathers. Their location is on the banks of Sugar Creek, about seventy miles southwest of the Kickapoos station. This is the most flourishing of all the Indian missions and realizes the accounts which we read of the missions of Paraguay. A letter of the missionary, received in January last, states that on Christmas one hundred and fifty approached the sacred table and all who could be spared from domestic duties assisted with great devotion at the three solemn Masses, the first at midnight, the second at daybreak and the third at 10:30. There is but one Father at present at the station, and as his presence is almost always required among his six hundred Catholics, he cannot make frequent excursions to the neighboring tribes. His catechists, however, perform this duty for him, and often return with several adults ready to receive baptism. The details of this mission would form a lengthy and interesting article, we cannot properly find place in a mere report.

What Father Verhaegen at the time failed to give we will endeavor to supply from the reports of his collaborators and other trustworthy documents, and, first of all, I shall quote the words of Fathers Charles Hoeken and H. Aelen, the founders of the mission. In his report from the Pottawotomies village, near the Osage River, dated May 14, 1839, Father Aelen writes. "If it please Your Grace, I would call this mission 'Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis.'" On the 2nd day of October, 1838, the Reverend Father Hoeken came to the Osage River and was about to gather some bountiful fruit, when the Reverend Father Petit, of blessed memory, on the second day of November of the same year, arrived there with a large number of Catholic Indians. A temporary chapel was raised near the banks of the river, called Pottawotomie Creek. After the departure of Father Petit, Father Hoeken remained with these Indians for a time alone, until the Rev. Father P. Aelen joined him as his assistant, April 26th, 1839. On March 10th the entire multitude of the faithful removed to the river commonly called Sugar Creek, but renamed by us St. Mary's Creek, there to have their permanent home. A new church was erected in this place under the title "Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis." Father Hoeken adds a note to this report as follows:

The Indians under my care are of good disposition and fervent, some of them were confirmed by Bishop Bruté before their western migration. But as they come from Indiana they were never under the decrees of the Sacred Synod of Trent (i. e., the *ne Temere* decree), concerning marriages, consequently they are not subject to the proclamation of the banns. Besides, the Indian mode of contracting marriage is altogether different from that of other nations; and lastly they do not like to have their names proclaimed in church, because they are very much inclined to bashfulness, so much so that at times they can scarcely speak, so shamefaced they are.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Diocesan Archives of St. Louis.



But these Indians were not converts of recent date. Many of them had received baptism in the far-away mission of St. Joseph's, on Lake Michigan. They had been expelled from their native haunts by an act of governmental tyranny, and the account of their long and weary march from Indiana to the borders of Kansas is a little epic full of pathos and deep human interest. Father Benjamin-Maria Petit was the spiritual leader of these exiled people, their teacher, protector and comforter, and it was he that left us in his letters a beautiful record of their sad journey to the country beyond the Mississippi River. Father Petit was born at Rennes in France, April 8, 1811, attended the college of his native city for the study of law, and had already attained the position of advocate when, in 1835, Bishop Simon Bruté, of Vincennes, arrived at Rennes and confirmed the hopeful young man in his determination to become a missionary in America. Arriving at Vincennes in 1836, the youthful Petit was raised to the priesthood in October, 1837. His first and only appointment was to the Indian mission in the region around South Bend, Indiana, where he remained until September, 1838. Hence, Father Petit accompanied the Pottawatomies on their exile to the Far West, and died on his homeward journey in St. Louis, February 10, 1839, not quite twenty-eight years old, but full of merit.

As the Pottawatomie mission of Sugar Creek, Indian Territory,<sup>58</sup> forms one of the glories of the diocese of St. Louis, and as Father Petit is not as well known among us as his heroic life deserves, I will translate the beautiful letters he wrote to Bishop Bruté concerning his stay with the Indians and their departure for the West. Speaking of his Christians at Chichipe-Outipe, near South Bend,<sup>59</sup> Father Petit writes:

Our common mode of life was as follows: The first bell rang at sunrise. Then you should have seen the Indians hurrying along the foot-path along the woods and from the shores of the lakes to our chapel on the hill. Then the second bell warned the belated ones to make speed. When they were all assembled, the catechist recounted the points of the previous instruction: Morning prayer, followed and holy Mass, during which hymns were sung by the congregation. My sermon was translated into the Pottawotomie dialect. After this

<sup>58</sup> At the time of which we are writing the Indian Territory was much more extensive than what was commonly given as Indian Territory in our school days. "The Act of Congress of June 30, 1834, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians, declares that 'all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana or the territory of Arkansas shall for the purposes of that Act be considered the Indian country.'" This vast region thus defined, formed part of the Louisiana Purchase from France in 1803. The mission of Sugar Creek (Kansas) as well as the mission at Council Bluffs (Iowa) was in the Indian Territory.

<sup>59</sup> St. Joseph's Mission at South Bend (Indiana), was founded by Father Claude Allouez, S.J., before 1711, for at that period Father John Chardon, S.J., became his successor. The nation of the Pottawatomies is noteworthy in our literary history as having given to Longfellow the matter of his *Hiawatha*. Their traditions were first recorded by Father De Smet in his *Oregon Missions*. The "Pontonatomies," as spelled by French writers, were mentioned from 1632. In 1641 they were at Sault Ste. Mary's, fleeing before the Sioux; in 1668 they were all on the Pottawotomie Islands in Green Bay. In 1721 the bulk of the nation was still on their islands; one band was at Detroit, another on the St. Joseph's River (South Bend Indiana). These latter are the people led to the West by Father Petit. Cf. *Wisconsin Historical Collection*, vol. III, p. 136. The letters of Father Benjamin Marie Petit to Bishop Bruté were published in volume VII, of *The Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* for August. They were translated into German for Father Theodore Bruener's *Kirchen-Geschichte Quincy's*, 1887. The English translation was made for this article.

I heard confessions until evening. At sundown the whole congregation assembled for catechetical instruction and night prayer. Many of them had the practice of frequent communion, but since the death of Father Deseilles until my coming they had to be content with spiritual communion. I have already baptized eighteen converts and solemnized seven marriages. Their zeal for religion is most beautiful to witness. They will leave their homes to visit and instruct anyone, no matter how far away, of whom they have learned that he had desire to become a Christian. And with what affection they clung to me. "We were orphans," they said, "and we were lost in the night when you came among us, and now we live in light. You are a Father to us, and without your advice we will undertake nothing." I am very happy here, but there is one thing that disturbs my peace of mind. This mission is threatened with dissolution. The government intends to transport my Indians beyond the Mississippi. I am agitated between fear and hope. But my fears and hopes I lay in the hand of Providence.

On July 9th, 1838, Father Petit expresses his joy at finding himself able to understand and speak the language of his people; and at the end of his letter expresses a desire to be permitted to accompany them to their new destination. Since Easter, 1838, he had baptized one hundred and two Indian converts. At length the sad day of parting arrived. On September 14, 1838, Father Petit writes:

I have read my last Mass at Chicsipe-Ontipe. After Mass my dear little chapel was stripped of all its ornaments, and I gathered my children around me for the hour of departure. I shed tears, my Indians cried aloud; it was heart-rending. We, a dying mission, prayed for the prosperity of the other missions and sang:

"In thy protection do we trust,  
O Virgin, meek and mild."

The leader's voice was broken with sobbing; but few could carry the song to its end. I had to leave. It is very sad for a missionary to witness the death of what he had loved. A few days later I learned that the Indians, in spite of their peaceful disposition, had been attacked and made prisoners of war. Under pretence of a council they had been brought together, when suddenly they were surrounded by the military, 800 in number, and put under restraint. The government at the same time extended an invitation to me to accompany them to their destination, as the separation from their priest was one of the reasons of their unwillingness to depart. I answered that I could do nothing without consent of my bishop, and that he had refused permission, in order to remove all suspicion, that the church authorities had consented to the harsh measures adopted by the government. But the dispensation of Providence is wonderful. Bishop Bruté was expected at Logansport on September 7th to dedicate the new church; and on the same day my Indian children were to camp near Logansport on their way to the Mississippi. On the morning of September 5th, the Bishop entered my room at South Bend and asked me to accompany him to Logansport. I was quiet as a man who does not move under an oppressive weight. We departed together. On the way we learned that the Indians, who were urged on to quicker movement at the point of the bayonet, had a number of sick people with them; several of them on the wagons having already died of heat and thirst. These reports were like a dagger piercing my heart. The Bishop now gave his consent that I join the Indians on their sad exodus; on condition, however, that I return as soon as another priest could be provided. I feared at first that I would not be permitted to enter the camp without special permission. All the Indians, however, came out to receive my blessing. The Americans were surprised at this. "This man," said the General "has greater influence here than I." I had free entrance everywhere. On the afternoon of September 9th Bishop Bruté came to the camp and confirmed twenty of my people. It was a beautiful day of triumph for the Catholic Faith. On the following day I brought my luggage from South Bend, and am now on the march to found a new mission for my barbarians 400 miles to the west.

Why the military acted so harshly in carrying out the sufficiently harsh measures of the government is not clear, except on the supposition that some of them were far more barbarous than the barbarians themselves, these gentle children of the one-time wilderness. But these Indians were Catholics and, therefore, their sufferings passed unnoticed by the great world. On November 13, 1837, Father Petit continues his report to Bishop Bruté. His letter is dated from

*Osage River, Indiana County (Kansas):* "On September 12 I returned to Logansport, having to catch up with the emigrants at Lafayette, but the march was accelerated so much that I did not see them, even from afar, until I came to Danville. They were marching along the right bank of the river, whilst the wagon train followed on the left bank. It was Sunday, September 16th. I had just arrived, when a Colonel rode up for the purpose of selecting the location for a camp. Shortly afterward I saw my Christians approaching through the heat of midday, amid a cloud of dust and surrounded by the soldiery, urging them on to renewed effort. Then came the wagon train with the numerous sick and the children and women heaped pellmell on the carts. The camp was about half an hour's walk from the city, and in a little more than that time I was with them. It was a heart-breaking spectacle. Sick and dying people everywhere; almost all the children were in a state of utter exhaustion and unconsciousness. The General expressed his pleasure at seeing me, and gallantly offered me a chair, the only one he had. This was the first night spent under a tent. Early next morning the Indians were placed in the wagons; all the others mounting their horses. Just before starting, Judge Polk, the commander-in-chief, came up and offered me a saddle horse which the government had hired from an Indian, but the Indian approached and said: "My Father, I give you the horse, saddled and bridled as it is." We then started for a new camp, when a longer rest was promised us. At my request the authorities set at liberty the six Indian chiefs, who had until now been treated as prisoners of war. The order of march was now as follows: The U. S. flag was carried at the head of the column by a dragoon, followed by some of the chief officers; then came the wagon train of the General Staff; then the wagons used by the Indian chiefs. After that came 250 to 300 horses, with men, women and children riding in single file after the manner of the Indians, under guard of dragoons and volunteers, who continually urged on the cavalcade with bitter words and taunts. Now came about 40 wagons with the luggage of the Indians, and the sick Indians crowded on top of the luggage. Here the poor creatures lay, continually shaken up, under a canvas cover that was intended to shelter them against the heat of the sun, but served only to deprive them of fresh air; literally buried alive under the burning cover. A few of them died under the torment. We encamped about six miles from Danville. Then I had the happiness for two successive days to say holy Mass surrounded by my children. I administered the holy sacrament to several in preparation for death, and baptized a few infants, and when we left this camp after our two days' rest, we left behind six graves with crosses at their head. At Danville the General gave furlough to his little army, and departed. He had promised to do so immediately after my advent. Soon we found ourselves on the vast prairies of Illinois, moving from one camp to another under a broiling sun, against which there was no shelter; they are immeasurable like the ocean, and the eye wearies itself to discover a tree in its immensity. No drop of water is to be found there. The journey was a real torment for the poor sick, some of whom died almost every day from exhaustion and fatigue. But all this misery did not prevent us from reciting our night prayers in common, and the Americans, who were led by curiosity to visit us, were astonished to find so much piety among so many trials. It frequently happened that some fifteen to twenty Indians sat around a fire before a tent that was illumined by a single wax candle, singing hymns and reciting the rosary all night; it meant that one of their friends had died and his corpse lay now in the tent. Thus they showed him their love and honor. On the following morning a grave was dug, the sorrowing family, without a tear in



their eyes, however, remained at the place after the others had departed; the priest blessed the grave and cast the first shovelful of clay on the poor coffin; then a mound was raised over the dead and a little cross placed upon it. On some Sundays, when the lack of drinking water forced us to march on, a time of grace of two hours was granted to me, during which I might perform my religious duties. The Indians attended holy Mass, during which they sang their hymns so sweetly that all visitors were filled with wonderment. To my taste some of their songs had a very beautiful melody. I then preached a sermon on the Gospel, requested all to recite the Rosary on the way and gathered my belongings. The tents were struck, the horses were mounted, and on we marched to the next encampment. As a rule there was no marching on Sundays. The morning prayers and an instruction preceded the Mass. Vespers were chanted in the Indian tongue. Then came the Rosary and a brief sermon; the latter I sometimes preached in Indian without an interpreter. The respect shown me by Catholics along the way is above praise. . . .

I was again attacked by fever, about two or three days' journey this side of the Illinois River. Here an old Frenchman came to the camp and made me promise, with many importunities, to take a few days' rest at his home. The next morning he came with a wagon to convey me away, but I had to decline the invitation for fear I might not be able to catch up with my emigrants if I remained behind. When we arrived at Naples, where we crossed the Illinois River, a Protestant gentleman who had been married to a Catholic Frenchwoman at Vincennes, and who had heard that there was a sick priest among the Indians, came to offer me his home for the time of my stay. I accepted this invitation, and through the great care lavished upon me I got rid of the fever. At Naples I took the stage coach and hurried on to Quincy. There I found a German priest, Father Brickwedde,<sup>60</sup> and a German congregation, who all received me with indescribable affection. The same friendly treatment was accorded to me by some Catholic Americans and by a few of the most prominent Protestants of the city. When the Indians arrived at Quincy the inhabitants, who had seen other emigrating tribes pass through their city, could not contain their admiration of the modesty, the quiet and good behavior of our Christians. A Catholic lady, accompanied by a Protestant friend, made the sign of the cross. Immediately the Indian women ran up to her and grasped her hand and shook it most heartily. The Protestant lady tried also to make the sign of the cross, but made a poor showing at it. One of the Indian women approached her, saying, "You, nothing." And she was right. . . .

At Quincy the Indians crossed the Mississippi and wandered from camp to camp through Northern Missouri ever westward across the Missouri boundary to the headquarters of the Osage River, in the present State of Kansas, then but a part of the vast Indian Territory. Father Petit's letter comes to a conclusion:

One day's journey from the Osage River I was met by Father Hoeken, S.J. He speaks both the Pottawotomie and the Kickapoo languages. He told me of his purpose to leave the land of the Kickapoo and to take up his abode among my Christians. Thus Your Grace will see that your purpose as well as mine is attained. Your Grace sought nothing but the honor of God and the salvation of these poor Christians; I sought nothing else. Having departed on September 4th, we arrived November 4th. The number of our Indians at their departure amounted to 800; some have deserted and many died. I do not think there were, at our arrival, more than 650 souls.

<sup>60</sup> A very sympathetic account of Father Florentin Augustin Brickwedde, the first pastor of Quincy, Ill., is to be found in *Pastoral-Blatt* of St. Louis, vol. 51, No. 7. Father Hilary Tucker in a letter dated Quincy, September 27, 1840, gives a brief account of another Pottawotomie migration to the Far West, passing through Quincy. There were 400 Indians, 300 of them Catholics, under the spiritual leadership of Father Bernier.

Father Petit fell sick once more; the effects of the fever and the terrible privations and hardships were partly counteracted by the tender care of Father Hoeken. On January 2, 1839, Father Petit started for Vincennes, but was again taken ill on the way, and died at St. Louis, a martyr to duty, as Bishop Bruté called him, cheered and comforted by the pious care of the Jesuit Fathers and the visits of Bishops Rosati and Loras. His death occurred on February 11, 1839.

As this long digression has at last brought us back to the place from which we started, that is, the Osage River or Sugar Creek, Mission, we will give a brief account of the success the Jesuit Fathers attained. The Kickapoo mission was, indeed, merged in the Pottawatomie Mission of St. Mary's, on Sugar Creek, directed at first by Father Hoecke, S.J. "Before long the mission, as Shea<sup>61</sup> informs us, contained more than 1200 Catholic Indians; and two schools in a flourishing condition gave every hope of the rising generation. The Fathers were aided in this mission by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, who began a school at Sugar Creek about the same time." The report from Sugar Creek for 1839 was made by Father H. S. Aelen, S.J. On the distribution of the Catholic Indians he has the following information to give:

The Pottawatomie Mission south of the Mer des Cygnes (Lake of the Swans) sometimes called Osage River. This mission extends itself to all the various bands of that nation, scattered all over their lands. Some of the faithful live on the right bank of the Mer des Cygnes; a considerable number on both banks of the so-called Pottawatomie Creek, and about 400 in a southward direction on the banks of the so-called Sugar Creek. Here is the residence of the attending clergyman, the Rev. H. G. Aelen, S.J., and a church under the invocation of the Bl. V. M. This mission is very flourishing, and no less than 60 adults have been baptized during the last eight months, or from the time that the nation has begun to settle on their lands.<sup>62</sup>

From this flourishing center the Ottawas and Miamis were regularly visited by Father Aelen; the Kickapoo Station was for a time the residence of Father A. Eysvogels, S.J., who also visited Fort Leavenworth, and came, at times, to Liberty and Plattsburg. We regret very much that we cannot here give a full account of the Jesuit labors among the Indians of the old Indian Territory until its erection into a Vicariate under Bishop John B. Miege, S.J., in 1851, who, by the way, took up his residence at the Pottawatomie Mission.

The question may arise why these Indian missions were not as successful as similar efforts in South and Central America and in California. One reason is to be found in the frequent wanderings of these tribes; and their gradual extirpation through the greed of their white neighbors. Had the Jesuit missionaries of the West been allowed to pursue their plans without let or hindrance, or, better still, had they received the undivided support of the government in the work of Christianization, these numerous and once powerful tribes would now form

---

<sup>61</sup> J. G. Shea *History of the Catholic Mission, among the Indian Tribes*, p. 464.

<sup>62</sup> Archives of St. Louis and Diocesan Chancery.

large and prosperous communities on our Western prairies. But Catholic efforts were not supported as they should have been, nay, were often antagonized by government under some specious plea or another. Our Catholic people, too, were not as earnest in this great work as might have been expected of them. Other interests seemed to be more urgent. Father Verhaegen, in his appeal to the Council, complains of this lack of means:

The prospect of these different missions with respect to the salvation of souls is such as to animate the missionary with the greatest courage in the midst of privation and labor. But we cannot conceal from the prelates of the Council, who have placed these missions under our care, that their successful continuance depends upon other encouragement or support than the sweat of the laborers. These missions have hitherto been kept up by remittances from Europe, namely, from the Association of France and from friends in Belgium and Holland, and also by a small annual allowance made by the government—the last, however, is not extended to the establishment at Council Bluffs. These resources are precarious, it may indeed be said, that they nearly failed during the last year. It then becomes a most important question, what shall be done for the continuance of the Indian missions? We leave to the wisdom of the Council to devise the means for the promotion of this great object. In conclusion we submit a statement of the expenses of one mission, that of Council Bluffs, since its commencement.<sup>63</sup>

Yet, in spite of all these difficulties, great good has been attained, especially at the mission on Sugar Creek, and then among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, made famous to that heroic soul, Father Peter De Smet, S.J., of St. Louis, the founder of the Oregon Missions beyond the Rocky Mountains.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.



---

<sup>63</sup> Verhaegen, l. c.



## NOTES ON SISTER MARY THEONELLA HITE AND HER FAMILY<sup>1</sup>

There are but few old Virginia families which for romantic interest surpass that of the Hites, the founder of which was Baron Hans Joist Heydt (as the name was originally spelled), an Alsatian noble who, to escape religious persecution, early in the eighteenth century fled to Holland, and there married Anna Maria Du Bois, daughter of a Huguenot refugee.

Baron Hans, having heard of the wonderful possibilities of the New World, fitted out two vessels, "The Swift" and "The Friendship," and with his own family and about forty other colonists set sail from Strassburg. He arrived in New York in 1710, and purchasing a large tract of land on the Schuylkill in Pennsylvania, there remained the patriarch of his little colony until in 1734, he acquired the original Van Mater tract of 40,000 acres in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, whither he removed. By an additional purchase of 100,000 acres, he became one of the largest landowners in all Virginia, second indeed only to the Fairfaxes, with whom, by the way, he was destined to be engaged in a long and costly litigation. He died about the year 1760, leaving a numerous progeny.

Of his sons, the eldest, Captain Jacob Hite, of New Hopewell, near Leetown, High Sheriff, Justice of Berkeley County and officer of County Militia, was engaged for some years in securing settlers in Europe for the lands owned by his father. For this purpose he made frequent trips to Ireland in his own vessel, and on one of these trips met and married in Dublin, Miss Catherine O'Bannon.

By this marriage he became the father of Colonel Thomas Hite (1750-1779); of John, whose daughter, Catherine, married Theodoric

---

<sup>1</sup> St. Louis readers will find interest in these *Notes* when they remember that Sister Theonella was a relative of Mrs. Mary Ann Malvina (Hite) Boisliniere (1826-1902) wife of Dr. Louis Chérot Boisliniere (1816-1896) of St. Louis, the parents of Marie Xavier Charlotte, wife of Laurence Vincent Cartan. Other convert relatives of this family well known to St. Louisans were: Mrs. Eleanora Nelson (Guest) Semmes (1820-1875) wife of Samuel Middleton Semmes (1811-1867), and daughter of Jonathan Guest and Mary Stoughton Hite Gantt, daughter of John Hite, and granddaughter of Captain Jacob Hite and Catherine O'Bannon, mentioned in the article. Mrs. Semmes was the sister of Commodore John Guest (1821-1879) of the U. S. Navy, who also entered the Church.

Lee, son of "Light Horse Harry" Lee; of Jacob O'Bannon, slain by the Indians in 1776; of Elizabeth, wife of Colonel Tavener Beale, Jr., (son by a previous marriage of Jacob Hite's second wife, Fanny (Madison Beale Hite, aunt of President Madison); and of Mary who married clergymen. On the death of his Irish-born wife, Captain Jacob Hite married Fanny (Madison) Beale (1726-1776) widow of Colonel Tavener Beale, Sr., aunt of President Madison.

Due to some disagreement with his family, Captain Jacob Hite early in the year 1776, leaving his son George at William and Mary College to finish his education, removed to South Carolina, where in July following, he with his wife and several children was slain by the Indians, they having being instigated to this atrocious act by British agents who resented his espousal of the cause of the Revolutionists. Two of his daughters, Frances Madison<sup>2</sup> and Eleanor, were taken captive by the Indians and carried to Florida. Frances Madison, in attempting to make her escape was tomahawked; her sister, Eleanor, was later ransomed by Captain Johnson of the British Army, but she lived only long enough to reach the settlement at Pensacola, where she died and lies buried.

George Hite (died 1817) who, as we have seen, was at the time of the massacre of his family a student at William and Mary College, after finishing his education, served as a Captain in the Revolution, and was afterward first clerk of Jefferson County. He married, in 1780, Deborah, daughter of Colonel Robert Rutherford<sup>3</sup> (1728-1803) and Mary (Dobbin) Howe Rutherford<sup>4</sup> of "Flowing Spring," on the James River.

To Captain George and Deborah (Rutherford) Hite was born on February 17, 1793, a daughter whom they named Margaret. She was one of six children, one son and five daughters. Little is definitely known concerning her early life beyond the statement in the Gorge-town Convent Annals to the effect that "her parents took great pains to

<sup>2</sup> She is often confused with her mother, notably by the author of "The Fate of Frances Madison," who there states that the wife of Jacob Hite was not slain by the Indians but taken captive and later ransomed. The confusion is due to the fact that the daughter bore the given names of her mother. Colonel Isaac Hite (her brother-in-law) distinctly states in his diary that Frances Madison Beale Hite was slain by the Indians along with her husband and several children in July, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Robert Rutherford was a native of Scotland who settled on an estate which he named "Flowing Spring," on the James River, Jefferson County, Virginia. He was a member of the House of Burgesses as early as 1758, and of the Continental Congress. He was an intimate friend of General Washington, who was wont to address him in letters as "My dear Robin."

<sup>4</sup> Widow of Viscount George Augustus Howe (1724-1758) who came to this country in command of a British regiment, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and in 1758 served under Abercrombie at Ticonderoga where he met his death. He was the brother of Rt. Hon. Richard Earl Howe (1725-1790), Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the British Naval Forces, and of Sir William Howe (1729-1814), successor to Gage as commander-in-chief of British military forces in America and who, in 1777, defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine.

bring up their children in the fear of God and to instill into their hearts upright principles; and the children seconded their parents' pious exertions."

In 1825, Margaret accompanied her brother, Robert, to Washington, where she made the acquaintance of a devout Catholic family (whose name has not come down to us), through whose exemplary life she at length became attracted to their religion. After much prayer and study she at last was given the great grace of conversion. Following her baptism in 1827, she entered the Visitation Convent at Georgetown. She pronounced her vows on the Feast of S. Jane Frances de Chantal, August 21, 1828, receiving the name of Sister Mary Theonella.

The Georgetown Annals speak of her characteristic virtues as having been "purity of intention and willing obedience," in her long and arduous service as Infirmarian, Dispensor and teacher of various classes. She yielded up her pure soul to God on December 27, 1845, after eighteen years in religion. The night before she died she said to those around her bedside, "Since I have known God, I have served Him in the best manner I know."

It is extremely interesting to trace the relationship existing between Sister Theonella and six of the Presidents of the United States. Her paternal grandmother, Frances (Madison) Beale Hite, was the daughter of Colonel Ambrose and Frances (Taylor) Madison, the grandparents of President James Madison. Now Frances (Taylor) Madison was in turn the daughter of Colonel James and Martha (Thompson) Taylor, the common ancestors of Presidents Madison, Taylor, Tyler, the two Harrisons, and of Mrs. Jefferson Davis. Again, Frances (Taylor) Madison was the sister of President Zachary Taylor's grandfather. To still further connect her with the Presidents, we have only to recall that Sister Theonella's half-brother, Colonel Thomas Hite, married Frances Madison Beale, daughter by a previous marriage of his stepmother, Frances Madison Beale Hite (President Madison's aunt); that her grand-uncle, Major Isaac Hite (1758-1836) married as his first wife, Eleanor Conway Madison (1783-1802) sister of President James Madison; that her grand-aunt, Elizabeth (Madison) Willis, (another aunt of President Madison,) married Richard Beale, brother of Colonel Travener Beale, Sr.; that her half-niece, Frances Hite (daughter of her half-brother, Colonel Thomas Hite) married Thomas Carver Willis, who were the grandparents of Nathaniel Willis who married Jennie, daughter of John Augustine Washington of Mount Vernon, and of Emma, wife of Bushrod Washington of Clamont Court, nephews of General George Washington.

Sister Theonella's only brother, Major Robert Hite, married Courtney Ann Briscoe, of a family closely allied to that of the two Presidents Harrison. Finally, she was the aunt of George Flagg (son of her sister, Susan, and of John R. Flagg) husband of Elizabeth, daughter of Richard and Christine (Washington) Washington, granddaughter of Samuel Washington of Harewood, and the niece of General George Washington.



Still another Catholic relative of Sister Theonella must be mentioned: Mrs. Sarah Pearce Vick, who bore a papal title. She was the wife of Henry William Vick, of Vicksburg, Miss., and the daughter of James Pearce and Anne Clark. Her grandparents were General Jonathan Clark (1750-1811) of the Continental Army, and Sarah Hite. Jonathan Clark was the brother of General George Rogers Clark (1752-1818) and of General William Clark (1770-1838), Governor of Missouri. Sarah Hite Clark was the daughter of Colonel Isaac Hite (1723-1795) of "Long Meadows," the son of Baron Hans Joist Hite, founder of the family in Virginia. Her brother, Major Isaac Hite (1758-1836) married as his first wife, Eleanor Conway Madison (1783-1802) sister of President James Madison. Mrs. Jonathan Clark's uncle, Captain Jacob Hite, was the grandfather of Sister Mary Theonella Hite.

Authorities: "Hite Family," in *"Colonial Families of the United States,"* by Mackenzie, Vol. I (1896), pp. 185-203; Va. Hist. Mag. Vol. LV.; (1896); *"The Fate of Frances Madison,"* Va. Hist. Mag. Vol. IV, pp. 463-4; *"Diary of Colonel Isaac Hite,"* William and Mary Quart., Vol. VIII., p. 123; *"Madison Family Record,"* William and Mary Quart., Vol. IX (1901), p. 39; *"Memorandum from Note-Book of Major Isaac Hite, Jr.,"* William and Mary Quart., Vol. X., (1902), pp. 120-1; County Histories of Virginia and Kentucky; History of Jefferson County, Va., (1886); data from Georgetown Convent Annals through courtesy of Sister Superior.

SCANNELL O'NEILL.



# DIARY OF THE JOURNEY OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH TO TUCSON, ARIZ. (1870)

Early in the year 1870 Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe applied for the Sisters of St. Joseph for the missions in Arizona. Reverend Mother Saint-John Facemaz, then Superior General of the Congregation of Carondelet, hesitated some time before accepting the offer. She placed before the Sisters the dangers of the long journey, and finally, from among the many who volunteered she selected seven. During the spring of 1870 every preparation was made for the perilous undertaking, and the Sisters left Carondelet in the middle of April (1870), reaching Tucson May 26.

## *Reverend Mother and Dear Sisters:*

Before leaving Carondelet I promised to write a *Journal* of our trip to Arizona. It seems to me that the fulfillment of this promise is almost out of date. You know we had scarcely time to brush the dust off our habits before opening school; consequently, I was obliged to defer writing the events of our trip until vacation, and I would not have the courage even now to commence it, were it not that Sister Euphrasia is reminding me continually. I have time now, it is true, but not capacity for such a task. Nevertheless, I shall do the best I can, relying on the kind indulgence of our good Sisters.

*April 20, 1870.* After bidding adieu to our good Sisters in Carondelet, we started on our long and perilous journey to Arizona. Our first two stations were St. Joseph's and St. Bridget's Asylums, St. Louis, Missouri, where we were cordially greeted by our good Sisters. We wished them good-bye, repaired to the Pacific Railroad depot, and took the train at 6 P. M. direct to Kansas City. Puff! puff! went the locomotive, and we were off really on our way to Arizona. As the Sisters travel this portion of our journey, I shall not describe it; but it is certainly true that none of them ever went over it with the sadness of heart which we experienced on that ever memorable night. We were going, but not to return in vacation to make the retreat with our dear Sisters. Mother Julia will not call on us when visiting her Province. It is quite probable that we may never again meet here below; and it is only when this thought occurs to me that I know how deeply I love them. Oh! the incomprehensible beauty of our holy Faith! How con-

---

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted for this *Journal* to Sister M. Lucida, Annalist of the Sisters of St. Joseph. The fiftieth anniversary of the events which it recounts, is, together with its intrinsic interest, sufficient reason for offering it to our readers; they will, no doubt, join with us in expressing cordial thanks to Sister Lucida for the privilege. (THE EDITOR).

soling to know with an infallible certainty that we are accomplishing the will of God, with an assured hope of being reunited in our Heavenly Country to those beloved ones whom we have left here below for the love of Jesus and the salvation of souls. With these and similar reflections we passed the first night until we reached Kansas City.

*Thursday, April 21, 1870.* We were kindly welcomed by our good Sisters, and had the pleasure of meeting there Mother Agatha, who had been sick, but was now better. We spent the day quite pleasantly. It soon became once more our duty to say good-bye; but we were much encouraged on hearing that Reverend Mother Saint John had concluded to accompany us as far as Omaha, Nebraska. We took the train at 7 P. M., and as the cars were new and clean and but moderately filled, we were comfortably seated. We changed during the night—and it was indeed a change in every respect, as the cars were filled with emigrants, crying children, etc. In this crowd we spent the remainder of our second night.

*April 22, 1870.* In the morning we refreshed ourselves with a nice cup of coffee, then proceeded on our journey. The weather was cool and pleasant. An Indian boy played the violin for the entertainment of the passengers. Reverend Mother treated us to apples and maple sugar, and presented us with little statues of our Blessed Mother as souvenirs; but in spite of all, there was a sad cloud hanging over us. It was not surprising, for we were to part from Reverend Mother in a few hours, and that, perhaps, forever in this world. As in similar difficulties, we had recourse to our good Father, St. Joseph. We were detained about two hours after time. We feared that the San Francisco train would wait for us, as we wished it to be gone; for then we could remain one day more with Reverend Mother. As we approached Omaha some of us were crying and others praying; but all were looking eagerly to see if the train was there. We did not wait long, as a messenger came with the welcome news that the train had just left. "Thanks be to God," escaped from each one's lips, and was in every heart. We then went to the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, where we received a most cordial welcome from those good Sisters. We remained there until the next morning.

*Saturday, April 23, 1870.* After we had the consolation of hearing Mass and receiving the Bishop's blessing we went to the depot. Reverend Mother and Sister Lucina accompanied us. Reverend Mother procured our tickets, refreshments and other conveniences for the journey. The dreaded moment of parting had almost arrived. That moment we shall never forget! We were all seated in the cars when she came in with her little purchases, and at the same time to say "good-bye." We lost all self-control, and after she left us, wept bitterly, our eyes following her until she entered the carriage and drove out of sight. The Arizona missionaries had made their first great sacrifice in leaving their dear



Mother. The same day we passed through the beautiful valley of the La Platte, took supper at Clarks, 121 miles from Omaha. Sister Ambrosia and I went out to purchase some tea. We received it as an alms, and with it several mortifications. The cars were so crowded that night we were unable to sleep.

*Sunday, April 24, 1870.* We breakfasted at Sydney, 414 miles from Omaha. From this place onward the scenery was very interesting, and the conversation of our fellow-travellers amusing. In our car were four Protestant ministers with their ladies, on their way to China to convert those benighted idolators. There were almost as many religious denominations represented as were persons in the car. Whether owing to our presence or not, religion was the principal topic of conversation throughout the entire journey. Everyone maintained his own opinion, and proved it from the Bible, agreeing in one point that "Catholicity is abominable." When the controversy reached its highest point, an elderly respectable-looking gentleman came over to us and handed one of the Sisters a five-dollar bill, proffering his services to us as far as San Francisco. He stated that he was not a Catholic, but had great respect for the Sisters, as he knew them to be "angels of mercy," and that he regarded it a great privilege to serve them when it was in his power. One of the Sisters gave him a small medal of the Blessed Virgin. He hung it on his watch chain, and said that he would keep it as long as he lived. This afternoon we entered the Rocky range, passed through Sherman at an elevation of 8242 feet, the highest point on the line; also the highest point crossed by the railroad. It is a frightful and desolate region, nothing to be seen but snow-clad mountains of rock, whose summits appear to touch the clouds. The cars pass over frightful chasms. The rails are laid on logs resting on pillars whose only support are the craggy rocks beneath. Some of these chasms seem to be about the length of three city blocks. When we were going over these places everyone appeared to hold his breath, and it was only when we were safe on firm ground that conversation was resumed and comments made on the terrors and perils of the place. I chanced to be sleeping when crossing one of these places. Sister Martha woke me, telling me to "wake up and take note of this beautiful scenery." When I saw where we were, sleep forsook me immediately. I was really terrified. The Sisters enjoyed the scenery very much. This night, like the preceding one, we passed with little sleep.

*Monday, April 25, 1870.* We took breakfast at Green River, 845 miles from Omaha. At Byrne we met Sister Andrew's brother, Mr. Byrne, and delivered the little messages of his sister. At 5 o'clock we passed the "thousand-mile tree," so called from its being just 1000 miles from Omaha. It stands at the entrance to the "Devil's Gate," a very appropriately named place, with lofty mountains rising on each side of the track. The railroad winds through a narrow pass in the mountain, at the base of which the Weber River, an angry-looking

stream, dashes along with frightful impetuosity. We crossed it eight times within the space of a quarter of an hour. It is probably from this difficulty in crossing that it has received its name. We changed cars at Ogden, a Mormon town of about 6000 inhabitants. It lies between the Weber and Ogden Rivers, thirty-one miles north of Salt Lake City, 1032 miles from Omaha. Many of the Mormon houses are built like the tenement houses of the States; others are in groups of small houses in the yard. The Mormons are a degraded-looking set of people. Perhaps it is prejudice that makes me think so. Here we had the pleasure of meeting with kind friends in the persons of Mr. Doebeck and lady of San Francisco, who did everything they could to make us comfortable. About sunset we passed Salt Lake. The railroad runs along its margin. The city is a beautiful place. On the left are flower gardens, shade and fruit trees covered with dense foliage, which relieve the scene on the right—barren mountains and bleak rocks, presenting in all a lonely prospect.

*Tuesday, April 26, 1870.* Breakfast at Elco, 1307 miles from Omaha. The morning was warm and pleasant. There were a great many Indians at the depot. We threw them candy, and it was really amusing to see these poor old creatures grabbing for it in the dust. Mr. Doebeck occasionally sent us apples, oranges and candy. At noon we stopped at Battle Mountain, where we met Reverend Father Kelly, pastor of Austin, Nevada. He invited us to dinner, which, indeed, we needed badly; but Mother was afraid to leave the carpet bags, etc., so he had her dinner sent in. At supper Sister Martha was rather indisposed, and the good priest brought her supper to the car. He was extremely kind. When we retired at night the heat was as oppressive as that of a St. Louis July; the morning was as cold as a Canadian March. In several places the railroad is protected by sheds to prevent the snow from blocking the track.

*Wednesday, April 27, 1870.* About 6 o'clock we passed a place called Cape Horn. It is an ugly, dreary place. The railroad track runs alongside of a mountain that rises on the right and left. About five or six feet from the track there is a precipice said to be 300 feet deep, which extends about a mile along the railroad. On the opposite side of this precipice are mountains from whose sides issue several streams flowing into the chasm beneath, where, uniting, they rush along with awe-inspiring impetuosity. At 8 o'clock we reached the California gold diggings. They are subterranean, consequently we did not see them. We dined at Colfax with Reverend Father Kelly, who now took a fatherly care of us. We here parted from him, and in bidding us farewell, he presented us with a five-dollar gold piece, with strict injunctions to telegraph to him in case we needed any funds, as he would not fail to supply them. He gave us an introductory letter to Reverend Hugh Gallagher, San Francisco, who rendered us important services while we were there. Father Kelly said that he would apply for a colony of our Sisters for Salt Lake City, were it not that he purposed

leaving the mission to enter the Congregation of the Lazarists. He is the first pastor of the mission, and has been there fifteen years. At 7 o'clock P. M. we reached San Francisco. Mr. Doebeck saw us to the bus, and attended to our baggage, but, owing to some mistake in the address, we did not reach the hospital until 9 o'clock P. M. We presented a beautiful sight after our week's journey without arranging our toilet—the distance from Omaha to San Francisco being 1914 miles. We were received most cordially by the good Sisters of Mercy, who did all in their power to make us comfortable. We were sadly in need of rest, as we were completely dizzy from the motion of the cars.

*April 28, 1870.* Reverend Mother Gabriel took us to visit the Magdalen Asylum in the country. Mother was rather indisposed and did not accompany us. Sister Martha remained with her. The Sisters at the asylum were extremely kind to us. They wished to load us with provisions for our journey; but as we were inexperienced in these matters, we did not think we would need them, and accepted only a few knickknacks just to please them. We were heartily sorry when hungry in the desert that we had not accepted their offering. We shall ever feel grateful to those good Sisters who proved to us "friends in need," and lavished so much kindness on us.

*Saturday, April 30, 1870.* The good Sisters sent us to the boat in their carriage. We took passage on the steamer *Arizola*. Captain Johnson, with his officers, treated us with every mark of respect and kindness. Mother was quite seasick and scarcely able to sit up until Monday. In the afternoon Sisters Euphrasia and Martha were seasick, but were well the next day.

*Sunday, May 8, 1870.* With the exception of these little occurrences we had a pleasant trip to San Diego, where we arrived on Tuesday morning, May 3. We stopped at a boarding house until Saturday, May 7, when we left in a private conveyance for Fort Yuma. The carriage was too small for all to ride inside, so one was obliged to ride outside with the driver. Sister Ambrosia volunteered to make the great act of mortification and humility. It is beyond description what we suffered in riding 200 miles in a country like this, without protection from the rays of a tropical sun. Yet, poor Sister did this! About 10 o'clock we passed a white post that marks the southwest boundary of the United States. We dropped a few tears at sight of it, then entered Lower California. At noon we halted and took lunch in a stable 12 miles from San Diego. Sister Maxima and I went in search of gold. Seeing quantities of it we proposed getting a sack and filling it. Just think a sack of gold! But we soon learned from experience that "all is not gold that glitters." We camped about sunset at the foot of a mountain, made some tea, and took our supper off a rock. All were cheerful. We wished Reverend Mother could see us at supper. After offering thanks to the Giver of all good, we retired to rest; Mother,



Sisters Euphrasia and Martha under the wagon, others in the wagon, where there was room for only two to lie down. Sister Euphrasia and I sat in a corner and tried to sleep. We had scarcely closed our eyes when the wolves began to howl around us. We were terribly frightened and recommended ourselves to the safekeeping of Him who guides the weary traveller on his way. We feared that they would consume our little store of provisions and thus let us perish in the wilderness; but the driver told us not to fear. During the night Sister Euphrasia was startled from her sleep by one of the horses licking her face. She screamed fearfully and we concluded that she was a prey to wolves. Next morning (May 9), Feast of the Patronage of our Holy Father, St. Joseph, we were determined to celebrate it in the best way we could. After offering up our prayers, we formed a procession, going in advance of the wagon, Mother walking in front with a Spanish lily in her hand. We followed in solemn order, imagining ourselves in Egypt with St. Joseph as leader. At noon we came to a cool, shady place, in which we rested. The ranchman (a person who keeps refreshments, stable-feed, etc., on the Western plains), invited us to dinner. He offered us a good meal of all we could desire. There were several ranchmen there from the neighboring stations, but no women. There are few women in this country. After dinner they became sociable. We retired to the stable, where our driver and only protector was, and they followed. Some of them proposed marriage to us, saying we would do better by accepting the offer than by going to Tucson, for we would be all massacred by the Indians. The simplicity and earnestness with which they spoke, put indignation out of the question, as it was evident that they meant no insult, but our good. They were all native Americans. For that afternoon we had amusement enough. We resumed our journey. That evening we camped in a very damp place, made some tea, the only beverage we had. We then offered up our evening prayers and retired to rest. Mother, Sister Ambrosia, Sister Maxima and I mounted a rock; the other three went to the wagon. The night was very cold. I believe there was frost. We had only one blanket between seven of us. Sister Martha and I had only light summer shawls. The others were fortunate enough to have brought their winter ones along. Yet, we all kept up good spirits, being convinced that we were doing the Divine will.

*Monday, May 9, 1870.* We spent the day climbing up and down hills. In the evening we reached the ever-memorable place, "Mountain Springs," the entrance to the American Desert. For several miles the road is up and down mountains. We were obliged to travel it on foot. At the highest point it is said to be 4000 feet above the level of the sea. We were compelled to stop here to breathe. Some of the Sisters laid down on the roadside, being unable to proceed farther. Besides this terrible fatigue, we suffered still more from thirst. Before proceeding further, I shall give you a brief description of the place. We were going south; before us lay the American Desert, forty miles long, 800

feet below the level of the sea. It is said to have once formed a portion of the ocean. It has every appearance of having been covered with water. On the right lies a great salt lake, supposed to have been a part of the ocean, which, being hemmed in by mountains, could not recede with the other water. On the left arise ugly mountains of volcanic rock and red sand. I wished Sister Euphrasia to make a sketch of it, but she said it was not necessary to do it then, as she would never forget its appearance. After a few moments' rest we commenced to descend. We were so much fatigued that it seemed as if our limbs were dislocated. We had yet two miles to descend on foot, the greater part being very steep. We joined hands, two by two, and ran as well as we could. It was certainly a novel sight to see the Sisters alone crossing that lonely mountain in the wilderness. The sides of the road were covered with teams of horses, oxen and cattle that had dropped dead trying to ascend. In one place we counted fourteen oxen which had apparently died at the same time. When Mother saw so many dead animals she wept, fearing we might share their fate. We reassembled at the foot of the mountain and paused to breathe. Everyone had something to remark about the place we had just passed. Sister Maxima said it was "the abomination of desolation." The carriage overtook us there, but we continued on foot, as it was yet too dangerous to ride, though we had quite a distance to go before we could take the conveyance. We travelled as fast as we could, in order to reach a ranch.

Before nightfall the travellers reached a ranch, where they were accommodated for the night, though with much discomfort to all.

*May 10, 1870.* We started this morning at 5 o'clock and entered the desert. It is a vast bed of sand. Travel over it is rendered dangerous on account of the sandstorms. We were told that about a month previous to our crossing there was found a government wagon loaded with firearms which had been forwarded several months before, and a stage coach with seven passengers all buried in the sand. The sand is a good conductor, consequently the heat is extreme. When the sun is at meridian height, the sand is hot enough to blister. In one place we passed a drove of horned cattle said to contain a thousand head. Everyone died of heat the same day. Another place we passed the remains of 1500 sheep, smothered in a sandstorm. In several places the sand is so deep that we were obliged to walk. We could get water only in one place, and when we did get it it was not only hot but so full of mineral that we suffered more after taking it than before. We travelled till noon, then rested until 4 P. M. Recommending our journey to our Heavenly Father, we travelled until midnight. It was then cool and pleasant; the sun shone brightly; we rode and walked alternately. We sang hymns all the time and imagined St. Joseph in our company, protecting us as he did the Infant Jesus and His Blessed Mother through the Egyptian Desert. Thus we felt no fear.

At midnight they reached a ranch where they were kindly received and accommodated until the following evening. They travelled during the night, and at 3 o'clock on the morning of May 12. reached another ranch. The proprietor offered them the use of the barroom, which they declined, preferring a large barn near by. There were 40 Indian men at this ranch, who treated the Sisters with great kindness and respect. Everything was done to make them comfortable until evening, when they resumed their journey.

*Friday, May 13, 1870.* About 7 o'clock A. M. we left Lower California and entered Arizona. We crossed the Colorado River about 9 o'clock on what they term here a towboat, which, however, is nothing but a raft. We were obliged to go over in a carriage, as they did not wish to cross over a second time. There were four spirited horses. Two men held them by the bridle; and as there was nothing on the opposite side to which the raft could be fastened, two men stood on the opposite bank, holding it with ropes. As the horses sprang forward, the raft floated back. At this, one of the horses fell on the raft, which is the only thing that saved us from a watery grave. The weight of the horse prevented the carriage from rolling into the river. There stood the carriage with the Sisters hanging over a depth of 17 feet of water. I saw the danger before it happened and jumped from the carriage. We barely escaped being drowned and ending our mission and finishing our crown before reaching Arizon. But our Lord did not wish it. We must labor longer and assist in cultivating this barren portion of His vineyard. At 10 o'clock we reached Arizona City, or Fort Yuma, where we received a most cordial welcome from good Father Francisco, V. G. of Tucson. We remained here three days, and had the inexpressible consolation of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice and receiving our dear Lord in Holy Communion, which imbued us with new strength and courage for the remainder of our journey. We had the pleasure of hearing a Spanish sermon for the first time. We were lodged with a good Mexican family. As some of our Sisters may be going here at some future day, a brief description of the place may not prove uninteresting. It is located at the junction of the Colorado and Gila Rivers, being much more conveniently situated than Tucson. It is said to be the hottest place in the United States, but has the advantage of having plenty of fresh water. Sandstorms are of frequent occurrence. The population, consisting of Mexicans and Americans, numbers about 4000, the latter having the majority. No schools have yet been established. They offered \$200 per month if two of the Sisters would remain for a year, but were told by Father Francisco to first build a convent. The majority of the buildings are of adobe (sun-dried brick). Lumber is very scarce and difficult to procure. There is but one Catholic Church. The first pastor, who was one of the priests that accompanied the Bishop to Carondelet, was appointed last May. The soil is fertile, but, owing to continual drought, agriculture is confined to those parts where irrigation is practicable. There is an almost inexhaustible supply of firewood. The Indians in the vicinity are peaceable.



*Tuesday, May 17, 1870.* We left this place at sunrise and travelled till noon. The remainder of the journey was quite pleasant, as we had a comfortable, covered carriage, good Father Francisco to guard us, a plentiful supply of provisions, etc., and a cook to prepare our meals. From this time forward we had our regular meals—good ones, too—far better than we had expected in such a wilderness. We had a tent to sleep under, but as it was rather warm some of us slept in the wagon on the seats. We travelled until 10 o'clock P. M.

*Wednesday, May 18, 1870.* We started early in the morning and stopped at noon on the banks of the Gila. We travelled 200 miles along this stream, and took supper at a ranch, where we remained during the night.

*Thursday, May 19, 1870.* When we were about to resume our journey, Mother started in advance of us for a walk. On coming to a place where the roads crossed she took the wrong direction. After a short interval, not perceiving any trace of her, we became alarmed for her safety. Father and Sister Ambrosia immediately started in pursuit. When the driver descried her in the distance, he ran as fast as possible in order to overtake her; and she, on perceiving a man running after her, ran, too, with all her might. After her return, Father put her in penance by making her ride in his carriage. Sister Martha accompanied her. We rested from 12 M. till 3 P. M., and then continued our journey until 8 P. M.

*May 20, 1870.* At 6 A. M. we resumed our journey and came to a ranch about noon. The proprietor treated us very kindly and presented us with some canned fruit, and a new towel for our journey, which we resumed until 7 o'clock P. M., when we camped for the night, suffering much from the cold.

*Saturday, May 21, 1870.* We started on our way at 4 P. M. and passed many recently made graves of persons who had been killed by the Indians. One of these, we were informed, contained the remains of a father, mother and five children. These burial places looked so sadly neglected. The wolves had even made holes in them. The desolate, lonely places in which these poor creatures were laid to rest, and still more their melancholy and frightful death cast a damper over our spirits, as we had no certainty of not meeting the same fate. And yet, why should we be sad? Did we not risk our lives for the love of Jesus, and would it not be glorious to have the happiness of dying for Him? But poor nature is weak; and though in spirit we coveted the privilege of so glorious an end, yet our frail, earthly bodies shrank from so trying an ordeal. We passed at night the Indians' place of worship. It is a natural construction of huge, immovable rocks, on which they have cut the figures of their gods. They were various planets, different animals of the forest, and even reptiles. The figures appear to be well

made and are quite interesting to look at. Oh, how my heart burned to make them know the true and only God! We camped about 8 o'clock and took our supper by brush light, as usual.

*Sunday, May 22, 1870.* We had a lamb this morning for breakfast. We called it our Passover. After offering up our prayers and placing ourselves with confidence under the protection of Heaven we resumed our journey at rather an advanced hour of the day under the rays of a scorching sun, the average heat in the shade being 125 degrees. We reached a ranch at noon, and were accommodated with a room, where we enjoyed the luxury of a good wash and change of clothing. We dined at 3 o'clock, and after getting a supply of fresh water for the journey we started at 6 P. M. We entered the Arizona Desert, travelled all night, and were so much fatigued that almost everyone fell asleep, the driver permitting the horses to go at will. Father and his driver slept so soundly that Sister Martha was obliged to drive nearly all night. At 8 A. M. we refreshed ourselves with a cup of coffee, and journeyed on until 2:30 P. M., when we were out of the desert.

*May 23, 1870.* We took dinner at 5 P. M. and lodged at the house of a generous-hearted Irishman, Mr. Cosgrove. Whenever we had the good fortune to come across Irish or Mexicans we were sure of meeting with a cordial reception and of finding in them all the characteristics of true friends.

*Tuesday, May 24, 1870.* We started early, entering upon the most dangerous portion of our journey, as we were in danger of being attacked and massacred by the savages at any moment; but placing ourselves in the hands of Providence, to whom we had consecrated our lives, we courageously advanced, feeling assured that His all-seeing eye would protect His chosen ones from danger—at all events, that whatever would befall us would be in accordance with His most holy will. When we stopped at noon, there was no room for us in the inn, so that we had not even a tree to shelter us from the burning rays of a tropical sun. The ruins of some old buildings were near. Mother and Sister Martha went there to rest and fell asleep. A troop of nude Indians, who are peaceable, came in the meantime. They had the consideration to be quiet and let them sleep. Sister Martha was resting on an old cowhide. A warrior, perceiving her, stole softly up and sat down beside her. The rest of the Sisters were in the wagon, while I employed myself in washing some handkerchiefs and amused myself by taking notes for my *Journal*. Father and the boy prepared dinner, after which we resumed our journey. About 4 P. M. we passed the Valley of the Pima Indians. Their dwellings are constructed of straw and are shaped like a bird's nest, in an inverted position. They vary from four to five feet in height, and have a small hole as a place of entrance. Their costume consists of two pieces of calico or flannel extending to the knees, one piece hanging in front, the other behind.

The young squaws are clothed with the inner bark of trees in the same manner. The old ladies are not so modestly attired. They dress their hair with a mixture of mud and water, which has the double effect of destroying the vermin and keeping the hair in its place. They are a brave-looking tribe, very unlike the poor, timid Indians of the frontier. We camped at 9 o'clock. Whilst partaking of our evening refecton sixteen soldiers rode up and informed us that they had been sent to escort some travellers, they knew not whom, and supposed we were the persons, as they saw no others. We conjectured that our good Father, St. Joseph, had sent them to our assistance, though at the time we were not aware of how much we stood in need of their escort. We might in all probability have been massacred by the savages had they not been our safeguard. The Indians are afraid to appear when they hear the soldiers, unless they are sufficiently strong in number to fight them. They continued with us for the remaining seventy-five miles of our journey.

*May 25, 1870.* While we were at breakfast this morning three of the citizens of Tucson who were a portion of the number appointed to meet us (the others having remained at the next station), rode up. We resumed our journey at 5 P. M. Some miners joined us in order to share our protection. The soldiers followed close in the rear. They had two mules to carry their baggage—one carried the blankets, the other the cooking utensils. We titled them respectively the "chambermaid" and the "cook." The latter looked quite amusing with pots and pans hanging from each side. At noon we reached the station, where the remainder of the escort from Tucson was awaiting us—sixty-five miles from the city; but as they could speak neither French nor English we did not understand them. At 5 P. M. we set out again. Everyone was in fine spirits, especially the citizens. All passed off pleasantly until midnight, when a serious turn of mind and manner seemed to take possession of each and every one. We were then approaching Picacho Peak, where the Apaches are accustomed to attack travellers. A fearful massacre had been perpetrated there only a week previous. The road winds through a narrow pass in the mountain where the Indians conceal themselves and throw out their poisoned arrows at the passers-by. The place is literally filled with graves, sorrowful monuments of savage barbarity. Each one prepared his firearms, even good Father Francisco. The citizens pressed around our carriage. The soldiers rode about like bloodhounds in search of prey. In passing through the peak the horses began to neigh, which is a sure indication of the proximity of the savages. "The Indians! the Indians!" was echoed from every mouth. Whip and spurs were given to the horses. We went like lightning, the men yelling all the while like so many fiends in order to frighten the savages. The novelty of the scene kept us from being afraid. We travelled in this manner until 4 A. M.

*Ascension Thursday, May 26, 1870.* When we had passed unharmed through the most dangerous portion of our route, we returned



fervent, heartfelt thanks to our good God for our preservation. After refreshing ourselves with a cup of coffee, we continued our journey until within fifteen miles of Tucson, where we stopped for a short rest. The citizens wished us to remain there all night, as they wished us to enter Tucson in daylight, where a grand reception was in preparation. You see they were quite proud of us. After considerable reasoning they became very enthusiastic over the matter; but Father finally succeeded in obtaining their consent for us to enter that night. Four men went in advance with the joyful tidings of our arrival. We were expected at about 6 o'clock P. M., and were afterwards informed that the ladies and children had stationed themselves on the housetops, being too modest to mix in the crowd with men. At about three miles from the town we were met by the procession, which was headed by four priests on horse-back; but as we came in sight they dismounted and ran rather than walked to meet us, the crowd in the meantime discharging firearms. Before we reached the city their number had increased to about 3000, some discharging firearms, others bearing lighted torches in their hands, all walking in order with heads uncovered. The city was illuminated, fireworks in full play. Balls of combustible matter were thrown in the streets through which we passed. At each explosion Sister Euphrasia made the sign of the cross. All the bells in the city were pealing forth their merriest strains. On reaching the convent we found our good Bishop in company with several ladies and gentlemen, awaiting our arrival. The crowd then fired a farewell salute and dispersed. We feel truly grateful to these good people for their kind reception, as it is a convincing testimony of their reverence for our holy Faith. After we had arranged our toilet the ladies ushered us into the refectory, where a nice supper had been prepared for us. They waited on us at supper, and endeavored to make everything as pleasant as possible. When we had finished our repast they departed, leaving us in quiet possession of our new home—"St. Joseph's Convent, Tucson, Arizona." Our first act was to return thanks to our glorious Patriarch, St. Joseph, for preserving us from the many and great dangers to which we had been exposed for love of Jesus and the salvation of souls. Our house is built of adobe or brick dried in the sun—simply mud—and consists of but one story. It adjoins the Cathedral, and one of the chapels thereof serves as our chapel.

Now that we are settled in our new home we trust our good Sisters will continue to pray for us, recommending the success of our mission, our schools and our own spiritual welfare to our dear Lord, to the end that we may labor earnestly to promote His greater glory, and have this alone in view in all our undertakings.

Dear Reverend Mother and Sisters in Christ,

SISTER MONICA OF THE SACRED HEART.<sup>2</sup>

September 17, 1870.

---

<sup>2</sup> Our readers may be interested to know that Sister Monica, the author of this *Diary*, is still alive and active; she now lives at the Nazareth House of the Community, Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis Co., Mo.

N. B.—The Bishop was never able to find out who had given the order for the soldiers to meet the Sisters. All that the Commandant of the fort could tell was that a very respectable, hasty messenger arrived at the fort, with a request that a detachment be sent immediately to escort some travellers through the dangerous passes.

Three years later, in 1873, Bishop Salpointe stopped at Carondelet on his way to Rome, and made arrangements for three more Sisters for the Arizona Mission. He returned from Rome in the fall, and met the Sisters who were to accompany him, in Kansas City. They left Kansas City December 1st, 1873, reached Denver where they remained until December 9. The Sisters were hospitably entertained by the Sisters of Loretto and the Bishop remained at the home of Bishop Machebeuf. From Denver they went by rail to Kit Carson, Colorado, where they were furnished with a covered wagon and horses for the remainder of the journey. They started for Trinidad by way of Raton Pass, got lost in a snowstorm, but had the good fortune to find a sheep ranch, where two shepherds gave up their hut to the travellers. On December 14 they resumed their journey, reached Trinidad in safety and spent several days with the Sisters of Charity. They arrived at Las Vegas in time to spend the Christmas holidays with the Sisters of Loretto. At Las Vegas the Bishop secured another team of horses, the Sisters of Loretto gave him an old coach for his own use, and, according to the written account, the travellers left Las Vegas "in style." They reached Tucson January 27, 1874.



## ORIGIN OF THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT

J. Hanno Deiler in his book on "*The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana*" (Americana Germanica Press, Philadelphia, 1909) defines the term "Creole":

Creoles are the descendants of the white people who emigrated from Europe to Louisiana during the colonial period, i. e. before 1803; and are properly only those born within the limits of the original territory of Louisiana.

In matters of descent not the language, but the blood is the vital matter, and the blood alone. We must therefore classify the Louisiana Creoles according to the blood of their progenitors and say: There are Creoles of French descent, Creoles of German descent, Creoles of Spanish descent, and still others, for instance, Creoles of Irish descent and Creoles of Scotch descent (H. Deiler ib. p. 116). The descendants of the founders of the "German Coast" and the descendants of all other Germans who came to Louisiana before the year 1803 are the "Creoles of German descent". The first Louisiana Creole was born in Mobile in 1704, the child of a French father, nationality of the mother unknown.

In 1717, under the leadership of the notorious Scottish speculator John Law and in connection with his bank in Paris, the Western Company was formed, called after 1719, "La Compagnie des Indes". This company had grants of land and was expected to realize immense sums by planting and commerce. It received the trade monopoly for twenty-five years, with the right to issue an unlimited number of shares of stock and the privilege not only of giving away land on conditions, but also of selling it outright. For these and other considerations the company obligated itself to bring into the colony during the life of its franchise at least 6,000 white people and 3,000 negroes.

In order to develop the supposedly inexhaustible mineral treasures of Louisiana and the fabulous wealth of its soil, large tracts of land, concessions, were given to such rich men in France as would obligate themselves to bring the necessary number of people from Europe to till the soil, and to work in the mines. One of the largest concessioners was John Law, the president of the company, who caused two concessions to be given to himself. The largest one was on the lower Arkansas River, on the peninsula formed by the Mississippi, White and Arkansas Rivers. His second concession was seven leagues below New Orleans, on the Mississippi River, below English Turn. As a shrewd business man, which he no doubt was, John Law knew that, to make his venture a success, he needed not only money but also



people able and willing to toil for him; and, as he knew from the reports of the former governors how little adapted to agriculture the French colonists had proven themselves, he resolved to engage for his own concessions Germans from the country on both sides of the Rhine, and from Switzerland.

A great agitation was now inaugurated, partly to induce rich people to take shares in the general enterprise and buy land for their own account and partly to entice poor people to become *engagés* (hired field hands). After a while, land was to be given to the poor field hands to enable them also to get rich. About this time, pamphlets in several languages were printed, containing extracts from letters of people who had already settled in Louisiana, and giving glowing descriptions of the country. Such a pamphlet, in German, which, perhaps, came to Louisiana with one of the pioneer families, was found by Hanno Deiler, the historian of the German Coast, about 1884, in a little book shop at New Orleans and was bought by the Fisk Library (v. Deiler p. 12). It was printed at Leipsic in 1720.

German historians state that, as a result of this agitation, 10,000 Germans emigrated to Louisiana. This seems a rather large number of people to be enticed by the promoter's promises to leave their fatherland and emigrate to a distant country; but we must consider the pitiable condition under which these people lived at home. No part of Germany had suffered more through the terrible "Thirty Years' War" (1618-1648), than the country on the Rhine and especially the Palatinate. After the Thirty Years' War came the dreadful period of Louis XIV; the Palatinate, on both sides of the Rhine, was devastated in a most frightful manner. Never before were such barbarous deeds perpetrated as by Turenne, Melac and other French generals in the Palatinate. Whether French troops invaded Germany or Germans marched against the French, it was always the Palatinate and the other countries on the Rhine that suffered most through war and its fearful consequences: pestilence, famine and, often also, religious persecution.

The people on the Rhine had at last lost courage, and, as in 1709 and 1710, at the time of the great famine, 15,000 inhabitants of the Palatine had listened to the English agents and had gone down the Rhine to England to seek passage for the English colonies in America; so they were again only too eager to listen to the Louisiana promoter, promising them peace, political and religious freedom and wealth in the New World. So they went forth, not only from the Palatinate, but also from Alsace Lorraine, Baden, Wuerttemberg, the electorates of Mayence and Treves and even from Switzerland, some of whose sons were already serving in the Swiss regiments of Halwyl and Karer, sent to Louisiana by France.

Only a small portion of these 10,000 Germans ever reached the shores of Louisiana. We read that the roads leading to the French ports of embarkation were covered with Germans, but that many broke down on their journey from hardships and privations. In the French ports, moreover, where no preparations had been made for the care of so many strangers, and where, while waiting for the departure of the vessels, the emigrants lay crowded together for months, and were in-

sufficiently fed, diseases broke out among them and carried off many. Then came the great loss of human life on the voyage across the sea. Such a voyage often lasted several months, long stops being made at San Domingo, where the people were exposed to infection from tropical diseases. When even strong and healthy people succumbed to diseases brought on by the privations and hardships of such a voyage, by the miserable fare, by the lack of drinking water and disinfectants, and by the terrible odors in the ship's hold,—how must these emigrants have fared, weakened as they were from their journey through France and from sickness in the French ports? At one time only forty Germans landed in Louisiana of 200 who had gone on board; one author speaks of 200 Germans who landed out of 1,200 (H. Deiler *ib.* p. 16).

Sickness and starvation, however, were not the only dangers of the emigrant of those days. At that time the buccaneers, who had been driven from Yucatan by the Spaniards, in 1717, were yet in the Gulf of Mexico and pursued European vessels because these, in addition to emigrants, usually carried large quantities of provisions, arms, ammunition and money. Many a vessel that plied between France and Louisiana was never heard of again. In 1721 a French ship with "300 very sick Germans" on board was captured by buccaneers near the bay of Samana in San Domingo.

Following Hanno Deiler's careful inquiries, we must come to the conclusion that of the many thousands (6,000 to 10,000) who left Europe for Louisiana, only 2,000 actually reached the shores of the colony and were disembarked at Biloxi and upon Dauphine Island, in the harbor of Mobile.

In the fall of 1719 the French ship *Les Deux Frères* brought the first German colonists to Louisiana (Deiler p. 19). The ship was laden with all sorts of merchandise and effects "which belonged to them." These people could not have been intended for John Law; for judging from what they brought along with them, they must have been people of some means, who intended to become independent settlers. We may assume that they were the founders of the first German village (le premier ancien village allemand), on what is now called "The German Coast,"<sup>1</sup> one and a half miles inland from the Mississippi River, on the right bank, about 30 miles above New Orleans (founded by Bienville only one year previously). In September 1721 (according to census of 1724), however, these people were drowned out by the stormwater of the "great hurricane," and the waters of the "Lac des Allemands". This storm lasted five days. Some of the inundated families of the German villages died, others moved to the river front, where the land was higher, and only three were

---

<sup>1</sup> The district which is now called the "German Coast" (Côte des Allemands) begins about 25 miles (by river) above New Orleans and extends about forty miles up the Mississippi on both banks. The land is perfectly level; at the banks of the river, however, it is a little higher, because of the deposit the Mississippi had left there at every overflow. At a distance from one to two miles from the river it becomes lower and gradually turns into cypress swamps. Since 1802 the lower part has been called "St. Charles Parish" and the upper "St. John the Baptist Parish."

found in the first German village by the census enumerator of 1724.

In the beginning of the year 1720, says Pénicaut<sup>2</sup>, seven ships came with more than 4,000 persons, "French as well as German and Jews". They were the ships *La Gironde*, *L'Elephant*, *La Loire*, *La Seine*, *Le Dromadaire*, *Le Traversier* and *La Venus*. As *Le Dromadaire* brought the whole outfit for John Law's concession, the staff of Mr. Elias (Stultheus), the Jewish business manager of Law, may have been on board this vessel. For the same reason we may assume that the German people on board, or at least a large part of them, were so-called "Law People" and were mostly sent to the concession on the Arkansas River.

On the 16th of September, the ship *Le Profond* brought more than 240 Germans "for the concession of Mr. Law," and on November 9, 1720, the ship *La Marie* brought Mr. Levens, the second director of Law's concessions, and Mr. Maynard, "conducteur d'ouvriers." The Germans who came on the seven ships mentioned by Pénicaut and those who arrived on board *Le Profond* seem to have been the only ones of the thousands recruited for Law in Germany who actually reached the howling wilderness of the Arkansas River, traveling from Biloxi by way of the inland route: Lake Borgne, Lake Pontchartrain, Lake Maurepas, Amite River, Bayou Manchac and the Mississippi River. All later arrivals were detained at Biloxi and New Orleans and sent to the villages on the German Coast.

A rapid increase of the population would at all times, even in a well regulated community, be a source of embarrassment. It would need the most careful preparations and the purchasing and storing of a great quantity of provisions in order to solve the problem of subsistence in a satisfactory manner. On Dauphine Island and on Biloxi Bay, nevertheless, where the officials of the *Compagnie des Indes* ruled, nothing was done for the reception of so many newcomers. Everybody there seems to have lived like unto the lilies of the field: "They toiled not, neither did they spin." Nobody sowed, nobody harvested, and all waited for the provision ships from France and from San Domingo. Rather than work they would beg, steal or rob from the Indians. Thus the poor German immigrants were put on land where there was always more or less famine, sometimes even starvation. The provisions which the concessioners had brought with them to feed their own *engagés* were taken away from the ships by force to feed the soldiers and the immigrants were told to subsist on what they might be able to catch on the beach and on the corn which the Indians might let them have. Governor Bienville repeatedly demanded that these immigrants should not be landed on the gulf, but should be taken up the Mississippi River, but the question whether large vessels could enter and ascend the great river was not yet solved, although the colony had been in existence for about twenty years. As a very large number of smaller

---

<sup>2</sup> Pénicaut was a French carpenter who lived for twenty years (1699 to Oct. 1721) in the colony, and his "Relation" is an important source for the history of Louisiana. Mr. French, in his "Louisiana and Florida" has published a translation.



boats, by which the immigrants might easily have been taken to the concessions by the inland route through Lake Pontchartrain, had been allowed to go to wreck on the sands of Biloxi, the newcomers, especially those who arrived in 1721, had to stay for many months in Biloxi and on Dauphine Island, where they starved in masses or died of epidemic diseases.

On February 3, 1721, the ship *La Mutine* arrived at Ship Island with 147 (347?) Swiss "Ouvriers" of the *Compagnie des Indes*.<sup>3</sup> Shortly before, on January 24, four ships had sailed from the French port of L'Orient for Louisiana with 875 Germans and 66 Swiss emigrants. The names of these four ships were *Les Deux Frères*, *La Garonne*, *La Sanone* and *La Charente*. But few of these 941 emigrants survived the horrors of the sea voyage and landed on the coast of Louisiana (v. Deiler, p. 28). On the ship *Les Deux Frères* alone 173 lives out of 213 were lost on the sea. What suffering, what despair must have been endured on board these pest ships!

Towards the end of May 1721 two other ships with 270 Germans arrived in Louisiana; finally there came on June 4, the *Portefaix* with 330 immigrants, mostly Germans and originally intended for John Law's concessions. They were under the command of Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg, a former Swedish officer, then in the service of the *Compagnie des Indes*.<sup>4</sup> But in the meanwhile John Law's delusive scheme had failed. In the early spring of 1721 the news arrived in Louisiana, that Law had resigned his post of councillor of state and comptroller-general of the finances of France and for personal safety fled from Paris.<sup>5</sup> The news of Law's failure was a heavy blow to the *Compagnie des Indes*. It was decided to send no more Germans to the Law concessions, but to organize the immigrants under the leadership of d'Arensburg and to begin a new settlement with them. D'Arensburg, merging the survivors of the different troops into one body, departed with them from Biloxi for the banks of the Mississippi and transferred them to the two German villages on the German Coast, thirty miles

<sup>3</sup> Ever since 1719 the Swiss formed an integral part of the French troops in Louisiana. There were always at least four companies of fifty men each in the colony. At the expiration of their term of service, they usually remained in Louisiana, took up a trade or settled on some land contiguous to the German Coast. It was even a rule to give annually land, provisions and rations to two men from each Swiss company to facilitate their settling. The great majority of these Swiss soldiers, however, were not Swiss, but Germans from all parts of the fatherland.

<sup>4</sup> This remarkable man's name probably was Karl Friedrich, born at Arensburg on the isle of Oesel in the Baltic Sea (Bay of Riga). With other Swedish officers he left his home, because he preferred exile to Russification. The French officials of the *Compagnie des Indes*, mistaking "d'Arensburg" for his family name, issued his commission to "Charles Frédéric D'Arensbouurg". With his Germans he took active part in the expulsion of Governor Ulloa from New Orleans in 1768. He died November 18, 1777, at the age of 84 years. (Deiler, p. 38, ss.)

<sup>5</sup> Law left Paris on December 10, 1720, for Brussels. Later on he lived in great obscurity, finally settling at Venice; there he died March 21, 1729, still occupied in vast schemes and fully convinced of the solidity of his system, the failure of which he attributed entirely to enmity and panic. (The Americana, Vol. XII, under Law John.)

from New Orleans, which in honor of Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg were called "Karlstein" (Deiler p. 54).

But the German *engagés* on the Arkansas River were in a precarious condition. Having arrived about the end of 1720, they had not been able to make a crop, as the preparatory work of clearing the ground and providing shelter for themselves had occupied most of their time; much sickness also prevailing amongst them, they were unable to begin farming operations on a larger scale before August 1721. These Germans therefore needed assistance until they could help themselves, for not another livre was to be expected from the bankrupt John Law. But when, in November 1721, the company had decided to manage Law's concessions in the future for their own account, the resolution to help the Germans was not carried out, as Law's agent on the Arkansas, Levens, refused to transfer the business to the company. So it happened that the forlorn Germans received help neither from the one side nor from the other to bridge them over to the harvesting time of their first crop. They were forced to ask help of their old friends, the Arkansas and the Sothui Indians. Finally, when help from this last source failed, and smallpox broke out amongst the Indians and the Germans, they were forced to give up all and abandon the concession.

They resolved to go down the Mississippi to New Orleans, end of January or in February 1722, to return to Europe. Only 47 persons remained behind, which Dudemaine Dufresne found there, when in March 1722 he was installed by La Harpe in the office of manager of the concession in place of Levens. When La Harpe returned from his other mission, the silly search for the imaginary "Smaragd Rock" in Arkansas, these too had departed.

The arrival of the flotilla of the Germans from the Arkansas River must have been a great surprise for the people of New Orleans. That the Teuton colonists who considerably outnumbered the population of the new town, could remain at New Orleans, was out of question. Nor would the ill treated people stay in the swampy and wild post. New Orleans was at that time in its very infancy and looked more like a miserable mining camp than a town. Indeed the Germans did not come to thank the Company for favors. Some very plain words were spoken by the desperate men to the officials of the Company; in fact, it is said that Governor Bienville interceded, and when they demanded passage back to Europe, tried his very best to induce them to remain. The results of the conferences were: first that the Germans from the Arkansas were given rich alluvial lands on the right bank of the Mississippi River, about 25 miles above New Orleans, on what is now known as the "German Coast," where the village of Karlstein already existed; secondly that the agent on the Arkansas, Levens, was deposed; and thirdly, that provisions were sent to the Germans who still remained there. (Deiler, p. 38).

But the grant of good land in the neighborhood of the infant city did not terminate the woes of the unfortunate colonists.

No pen can describe, says Deiler (p. 56), nor human fancy imagine the hardships which the German pioneers of Louisiana suffered even

after they had survived the perils of the sea and epidemics and starvation on the sands of Biloxi. Had they been of a less hardy race, not one of these families would have survived. It should be remembered that the land assigned to them was virgin forest in the heavy alluvial bottoms of the Mississippi, with their tremendous germinating powers awakened by a semi-tropical sun. Giant oaks with wide-spreading arms and gray mossy beards stood there as if from eternity and defied the ax of man. Between them arose towering pines with thick undergrowth, bushes and shrubs and an impenetrable twist of running, spinning and climbing vines, under whose protection lurked a hell of hostile animals and savage men. Leopards, bears, panthers, wild cats, snakes and alligators, and their terrible allies, a scorching sun, the miasma rising from the disturbed virgin soil, and the floods of a mighty river,—all these combined to destroy the work of man and man himself. There were no levees then, no protecting dams, and only too often, when the spring floods came, the colonists were driven to climb upon the roofs of their houses and up into the trees; hundreds of miles of fertile land were inundated.

In spite of all the hardships which the pioneers had to endure and the difficulties to be encountered, the industry, energy and perseverance of these hardy colonists conquered all; and although hundreds perished, the survivors wrested from the soil not only a bare living, but in course of time a high degree of prosperity also. These German peasants more than once saved the city of New Orleans from famine. Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg served for more than forty years as commander and judge of the German Coast of Louisiana, sharing alike the joys and the hardships of his people.

In the Catholic Church in New Orleans, on the site of the present Cathedral, the Germans of the German Coast first attended divine service; here they also had their children christened, here their weddings were celebrated. The cathedral records from 1720 to 1730 contain many German names.

But in 1724, so the census of that year informs us, the Germans had a chapel of their own on the German Coast, which then may have stood already for one or two years, as the river settlement was made in the late fall of 1721. It is interesting to note this fact and to remember that this chapel was built about the same time when the Jesuit Charlevoix reported (1722) that the people of New Orleans "had lent the Lord half of a miserable store for divine service and that they want the Lord to move out again and accept shelter in a tent" (Deiler, p. 63). In the colonial budget for 1729 provision was made for a resident priest, the Capuchin Father Philip. The chapel was dedicated to St. Charles, to do honor to Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg. It was replaced in 1740 by the first "Red Church" on the other side of the river, twenty-five miles above New Orleans. The first Red Church was burnt in 1806 and in the same year replaced by the second, the present Red Church.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The church of St. Charles was called the "Red Church" from the traditional coat of red paint which both, the old and new church, had and which made them a landmark for boats on the Mississippi River.



In 1771 the Germans of the Upper German Coast built the church of St. John the Baptist, upon the right side of the river, a few miles from the place where the first chapel had been. The corner stone of the present church of St. John the Baptist was laid on June 4, 1820, and it was consecrated on March 17, 1822. The first parish priest of St. John the Baptist, the Capuchin P. Bernard de Limpach (1772-76) was also the first canonical pastor of the church of St. Louis, in Missouri (1776-1789).<sup>7</sup>

We now approach the question: What is the probable number of the Creoles of German descent? This question may be answered in the words of the promise given to Abraham: they are as numerous "as the sands on the sea shore."

The church registers of St. John the Baptist prove that the German pioneers were blessed with enormously large families.<sup>8</sup> It seems that heaven wanted to compensate them in this manner for the many dear ones they had lost in the ports of France, on the high seas, in Biloxi, and during the first period of their settling in Louisiana. Hanno Deiler found fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, and once even twenty-two children in a family.

Yet, in spite of this great number of children there was no difficulty in providing for the numerous daughters. There was a great scarcity of women in Louisiana in early times. Indeed prostitutes were gathered in Paris<sup>9</sup> and sent to Louisiana to provide wives for the colonists. Few of these lewd women ever had any children and their families became extinct in the second or third generations. No wonder that the young Frenchmen, especially those of the better class chose wives from among the German maidens, who were not only morally and physically strong, but had also been reared by their German mothers to be good house-wives. Even into the most exclusive circles into the families of the officials and of the richest merchants the German girls married; they became the wives of French and Spanish officers of ancient nobility in whose descendants German blood still flows.<sup>10</sup>

As a rule the German girls took German husbands and whole

<sup>7</sup> v. Pastoralblatt, St. Louis, Mo., August 1918. J. Rothensteiner.

<sup>8</sup> When, in 1877 a demented negro set fire to the priest's house of St. Charles' parish, all the records of the "Red Church" were burnt.

<sup>9</sup> The Chevalier Champigny in his memoir (La Haye, 1776) writes: They gathered up the poor, mendicants and prostitutes, and embarked them by force on the transports. On arriving in Louisiana they were married and had lands assigned to them to cultivate, but the idle life of three-fourths of these folks rendered them unfit for farming. You cannot find twenty of these vagabond families in Louisiana now. Most of them died in misery or returned to France, bringing back such ideas which their ill-success had inspired. The most frightful accounts of the country of the Mississippi soon began to spread among the public, at a time when German colonists were planting new and most successful establishments on the banks of the Mississippi within five or seven leagues from New Orleans. This tract, still occupied by their descendants, is the best cultivated and most thickly settled part of the colony, and I regard the Germans and the Canadians as the founders of all our establishments in Louisiana.

<sup>10</sup> The proofs v. in Deiler's book, p. 116.

families married into one another. To give but one example, it may be mentioned here that out of ten children of one Jacob Troxler, not fewer than eight married into the Haydel family. In such families the German language survived longest. In consequence, however, of the many family ties between the Germans and the French, and in consequence of the custom of the Creoles to marry into related families, French gradually became the family language even in those German families which had preserved the German language during three generations.

The changes which the German family names underwent amongst the Creoles are most regrettable. Without exception, all names of the first German colonists were changed, and most of the Creoles of German descent at the present time no longer know how the names of their German ancestors looked. Sometimes they were changed beyond recognition (e. g. Zweig into La Branche). Various circumstances contributed to the changing of these names. The principal one was, no doubt, the fact, that some of the old German colonists were not able to write their names. Their youth had fallen into the period of the first fifty years after the Thirty Years' War, and into the last years of the war when the armies of Louis XIV of France devastated the Palatinate. In consequence of the general destruction and the widespread misery of that period, schools could hardly exist in their home towns. It was, therefore, not the fault of these people if they could neither read nor write. As the parents could not tell their children in Louisiana how to write their names, these children had to accept what French and Spanish teachers and priests told them, and what they found in official documents. But French and Spanish officials and priests heard the German names through French and Spanish ears and wrote them down as they thought these sounds should be written in French or Spanish.

The Creoles of German descent constitute even now a large, if not the largest, part of the white population of the German Coast, the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist. But they spread at an early time also over neighboring districts, where their many children took up new lands for cultivation.

There are still amongst the descendants of the early Germans many of the ancient stalwart German type, who betray the French blood received in the course of time only by their more lively disposition; there are still blue eyes and blond hair among them. But their economical condition has been changed considerably. Through the Civil War many of these families lost not only their slaves, but also their plantations, the source of their once very considerable wealth. They have shared the lot of the French Creoles. But, thanks to their inherited energy, they wrung an existence from the adverse conditions, and now that a new era of prosperity has dawned upon Louisiana, their prospects have become brighter. The great majority of the Creoles of German descent may be said to be again on the road to prosperity.

F. G. HOLWECK.

# NOTES



CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS.

*Secretary's Report for 1919-1920.*

The Secretary's report for the twelve months just elapsed need be but very brief, as the main topics will be treated by the chairmen of the various committees.

At the last general meeting of the Society all the old officers were elected for another term, although that method did not seem altogether satisfactory to some. The officers, however, very faithfully attended to their duties. The attendance of our membership was not what could be expected, especially when the importance of our proposed work is taken into consideration. Yet we have to chronicle some progress. The membership grew in numbers, and our collections were enriched by some very important gifts, as the old Church Records of Old Mines Parish and the Letters of Archbishop Kain. His Grace of St. Louis was the donor of the Records, and Msgr. J. J. Tannrath of Archbishop Kain's Letters. At the September meeting Fathers Holweck and Van Tourenhout gave informal talks on the Old Parishes of Louisiana, which they had recently visited and partly explored. At the November meeting Mr. Edward Brown read an important paper on Governor McNair. At the January meeting Father Martin Brennan gave a highly interesting talk on the theory of the planets being inhabited, inclining to the negative side. At the March meeting the Secretary treated of the circumstances connected with the visit of an Indian delegation from beyond the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis for the purpose of obtaining a "Black Gown" for their people.

The publication of the Society's organ, the ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW was delayed several times, owing, in part, to the disturbed condition of the times. The Society has a strong claim on the patriotic and Christian interest of the cultured classes of St. Louis and Missouri, and, we may add, of the entire Mississippi Valley. It is the Society's purpose to elucidate the religious and social influences that went out from St. Louis, far and wide, from the days of the earliest discoveries to our living present, which will soon be history, too. With greater interest aroused and with better financial support, the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis could do imperishable work.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER, Secretary.



# REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY, 1920.

The Committee met regularly each month next preceding the general meeting of the Society during the year.

The meetings of the Committee were generally well attended, current expenditures were authorized and arrangements made from time to time for the reading of a paper at each meeting of the Society during the year.

The urgent appeal made by the Committee a year ago for an increased membership and a more active interest in the work of the Society, on the part of the members enrolled, has not been heeded—six new members were enrolled during the year—two members died and one resigned, leaving the present membership 57—a net gain of only three members since our last Annual Meeting. The general meetings of the Society were poorly attended; sixty-four per cent of the total membership were not present at any meeting, and less than twelve members have taken any active interest in the work of the Society. The principal work of the Society has been in the publication of its Quarterly, the *ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, the first volume of which was completed with the publication of the July-October, 1919, number. One hundred copies of this volume will be bound in cloth as soon as the index to the volume has been received from the printer, and offered for sale at \$4.00 per copy. The cost of publishing the *REVIEW* is about \$600 per annum, while the entire membership dues and subscriptions for the *REVIEW* is about \$460. While the Society, up to this time, has been able to meet its current obligations, it is obvious that the work cannot be continued very long without a deficit, unless there is a marked increase in the Society's membership, or a large number of new subscribers secured for the *REVIEW*.

Apart from the question of expense, there has been much delay and irregularity in issuing the *REVIEW*—each number being several months late. Although the July and October numbers were issued as a double number, it was not ready for distribution until after the first of the year. The January number is still in press, but will be issued shortly.

It is suggested that the Publication Committee reorganize or arrange its editorial work in some way to have the *REVIEW* appear each quarter with regularity. The very life of the Society, in the opinion of this Committee, depends upon the success of this publication.

The membership at large is again urged to lend the interest and co-operation necessary to maintain the Society and enable it to continue its work successfully.

The Treasurer's report showing the receipts and expenditures for the year and the amount of cash on hand, is submitted herewith:

## FINANCIAL REPORT

*For the year ending April 30, 1920.*

### RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand May 1, 1919...	\$ 11.34
Dues paid by members.....	268.13
Subscriptions, etc., Historical Review .....	220.25
	<hr/>
	\$499.72

### EXPENDITURES.

Postage and printing.....	\$ 6.20
Printing Hist. Review.....	389.62
M. V. Review.....	4.00
Exchange .....	1.15
Balance .....	98.75

Total .....\$499.72

J. J. TANNRATH, *Treasurer*.

Balance on hand May 1, 1920.\$ 98.75

Respectfully Submitted,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

J. A. CONNOLLY, V. G., *Chairman*.

## CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN KANSAS CITY,

By Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.

12mo., 137 pages, illustrated. Price \$1.25, postpaid.

The city and diocese of Kansas City may well be proud of the dainty booklet concerning its "Catholic Beginnings," which Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., of the St. Louis University has written, and the Loyola University Press of Chicago has published this year. It is a monograph of 137 pages, beautifully printed on fine paper, and tastefully bound. Father Garraghan is a writer who combines patient, laborious research with excellent judgment and fine literary ability; and this latest product of his genius proves once more that accuracy and historical truth are not incompatible with the graces of style. Father Garraghan's book reads like a romance, and yet it is exact and trustworthy history. The book is full of most interesting facts, gathered from numerous sources, mostly manuscripts not accessible heretofore, but hidden away in archives and libraries, yet facts touched to life once more by the glowing pen of a true historian, a lover of the ancient days. In fact, we have here the only authentic account of the early days of the second metropolis of Missouri, "the only complete first chapter of the general history of Kansas City," as it has been justly styled. Any future historian of that wonderful city must, of necessity, give this book the place of honor among his printed sources, for it is a source-book of the most important kind, embodying the very words of the actors in that early drama. The Roux letters form only one, though the most interesting, source of information: *The Westport Register*, the *Kickapoo Mission Record*, the Baptismal Records of Father De la Croix, the numerous illustrations, the old map of early Kansas City, with all the houses marked upon it, all are historical sources as rare and priceless as any in our state. If it be surprising what a mass of interesting information is compressed in such small compass, it is still more surprising how eminently readable the book proves to be. The secret of its attraction lies in the orderly arrangement of all the manifold detail, and the clear, concise, limpid style of writing. The beginnings of Kansas City were Catholic. Catholic traders from St. Louis were the pioneers in all the region, and the presence of the Catholic Church made itself felt as the earliest and most important religious influence in Westport and the surrounding country. Now that the mustard seed has grown up into the mighty tree of Catholic Kansas City, it is pleasant to read of the spirit of faith and charity and self-sacrifice that animated the first planters and cultivators of the spiritual soil in that one-time Western wilderness. We would recommend to all Missourians first, and to all lovers of heroic lives in general, the perusal of Father Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*. We of the ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW are specially proud of Father Garraghan's success, as we number him among the members of our editorial staff, and as one of the most valued contributors to our columns. Father Garraghan has erected a *monumentum aere perennius* to the greatness of Kansas

City, and to the honor of our State. May this beautiful success encourage others to raise similar monuments to commemorate the labors and sacrifices and successes and triumphs of our fathers in the Faith.

Father G. J. Garraghan's book illustrates the fact that, from the time of its erection into an independent Episcopal See, the Church of St. Louis has taken to heart to prove herself pre-eminently apostolic. The leading article opening the present number of the *REVIEW* gives another evidence of that apostolic zeal. But not only the Church of St. Louis as an Ecclesiastical unit, but more restricted organizations in its bosom were looked up to as centers from which Catholic life and activity must radiate abroad. It was, no doubt, because he was convinced of this truth, that Bishop Salpointe applied to the Sisters of St. Joseph to send a colony in far-away Arizona. Fifty years have rolled by since the first Sisters set out from Carondelet on the long, tedious and perilous journey. Tucson, Arizona, is now within the distance of a three days' journey from St. Louis; no longer do the Indians lie in wait to slaughter the traveller through their jealously kept wilderness; we are tempted at times to judge the conditions of fifty years ago by those of to-day; from the Pullman window or the observation car one finds hard to believe traveling meant then well-nigh incredible hardships; the parlor-car philosopher smiles at the harrowing tales which are the history of but yesterday, and fails to recognize that nothing short of heroism was needed to launch on such journeys as the Sisters of St. Joseph undertook in 1870. But the parlor-car philosopher lacks the power to visualize past conditions; nor is it to him we look up for appreciation of devotedness prompted by no human interest and discernment of heroism. Neither does history look to him for judgment; and more and more, we are sure, will history extol the true worth of those zealous souls that set out from our midst to blaze the way of the Gospel. Honor to them, and particularly on this happy golden Jubilee year, honor to those apostolic Sisters of Carondelet who fearlessly started to the unknown West to do the work of Him who missioned His Church to teach all nations.

The missions to the Indians of Missouri and the great Northwest have been recounted; in the above-mentioned *Journal* we have a narrative of the commencement of Catholic education in the West; one field of the missionary activity kindled in St. Louis has so far been the object of little attention: we mean the Texas Missions. Let us hope that, no less than the others, these, too, will soon find in these pages an appreciative narrator.

\* \* \* \*

The nationality of P. Kino, S.J.—Since Mr. Herb. E. Bolton of the State University of California discovered the long-lost diary of P. Kino, called "*Favores Celestiales*," several Reviews have taken interest in the person of this great American Missionary. To settle the question of his nationality, Rev. F. G. Holweck asked one of the parish priests of the Val di Non, Trentino, the home of P. Kino, for informa-



tion. Whereupon a well-known priest from Trent, Rev. Simone Weber, June 21, 1920, answered that P. Kino's real name was "Chini"; he was born August 10, 1645, at Segno, a village belonging to the Parish of Torra, Val di Non. His parents were Francisco Chini and Marg. Luchi. If P. Chini called himself "German," it was not to indicate his nationality, but solely because the ecclesiastic principality of Trent was a dependency of the Germano-Roman Empire. The "Germanus" of P. Chini must not be taken in the same sense that he was a Teuton; himself, his family, his country, his valley, were and are distinctly Italian. His education, however, was absolutely German; he studied at Hall near Innsbruck, at Freiburg, i. B. and at Ingolstadt. At Segno, the home village of P. Chini, there exist, at the present time, many families by the name of Chini.

\* \* \* \*

### *Why the Buffalo Vanished from the Plains.*

The Indian, once the proud possessor of all America, has almost vanished from the land. Pushed westward by the advancing tide of European immigration, the various tribes seemed destined, for a short time to become a great people of hunters and trappers on the Western plains from Nebraska to Texas. The land was full of game, especially of the so-called bison or Buffalo, which supplied a frugal people with food, clothing and fuel. But in a few years the buffalo had vanished, and the poor Indian was reduced to direst poverty.

How the wild game, particularly the bison, were swept from the Western plains, is told by a railroad poster resurrected from America's early days, says the *New York Sun*.

These posters, according to the California Fish and Game Commission, were posted throughout England. American hunters not coming in sufficient numbers, a bid was made overseas for more gunners, women being included.

The poster is headed "Grand Buffalo Hunt," and reads as follows:

"A grand buffalo hunt will be held in September next on the prairies of Nebraska and Colorado, U. S. A., and through the magnificent valley of the Republican River, the rich alluvial feeding grounds of the buffalo.

"The Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company owns millions of acres, is one of the most wealthy corporations in the Western States of America, and will assist this hunting party in every way, in order that the sportsmen of England may see the Western country, and on their return be able to corroborate the statements as to climate, resources and the gigantic advancement made in so new a country.

"There are no hostile Indians in Nebraska whatever; friendly chiefs of the Otoes, Pawnees and other tribes will accompany the party.

"Sportsmen will be provided with army tents and beds during the hunt. There will be servants to take care of the horses, and, in fact, all arrangements have been made to give the hunting party the greatest amount of pleasure with the least possible trouble.

"Wagons will be provided for the conveyance of any trophies of the chase, such as buffalo skins, elk horns and antlers in limited quantity.

"The sportsman has there a field of nature's own planting on which to roam in pursuit of his healthy and invigorating pleasures, and where can the lover of scenery find greater, grander, lovelier views than are to be found on the continent of America?

"Fare for the round trip of about seven weeks, including every expense, except wines, liquors, cigars, guns, rifles and ammunition, 90 guineas.

"The arrangements will be such as to admit of ladies joining the party, but the charge for ladies will be 100 guineas each."

\* \* \* \*

We, of St. Louis, who, schooled in the spirit of grateful remembrance so strongly inculcated by St. Paul, (Heb. 13, 7), did not deem any celebration too grand for the worthy remembrance of the prelate who came here a century ago to speak the word of God on our shores. We are bending all our efforts upon the pleasant task of letting no particle of information escape our search, in order that to "the men of renown, and our fathers in their generation" may be in due time erected an historical monument worthy of their labors and of our appreciation. For we have long since made our own the earnest appeal of the learned Editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* (Washington, D. C.) that of every Bishop of the United States, the history should be written. No more ingratiating news, therefore, could reach us than that a life of Bishop Louis William Valentine Du Bourg is contemplated and in course of composition. We may add, without fear of betraying any secrets, that the writer is admirably well equipped for the task he has undertaken. Of the "Bishop of Louisiana" what most of us know best is his public life as Administrator and Bishop; the prelate's prospective historian is privileged to have access to an imposing mass of family papers which will reveal also the man. Most heartily do we wish godspeed to the zealous historian and do we pray for the happy completion of his labor of love and devotion.

\* \* \* \*

To some of our Ecclesiastical readers it may appear that the periodical conferences of the clergy are a relatively new-fangled institution, without precedent or even analogy in the past. Without going back to the pages of Europe's Church history, we may trace the wholesome practice *in this country*, and in the Diocese of Louisiana, of which St. Louis was then a part, for now more than a century back. For this purpose we need but quote here the following passage of a letter of Bishop Du Bourg to Father Bigeschi, Pastor of the Church of the Assumption, Bayou La Fourche, La. This letter was written from the Barrens, on August 15th, 1819:

With regard to the Ecclesiastical Conferences, if Father Valezano is willing to gather the priests at his place, I believe that that would be most convenient, I appoint him President, and Father Tichitoli, Secretary.

I desire that Fathers Mina and Mariani should go there. Let the members begin with going to confession and assisting at High Mass. At the time appointed for the conference proper, one of the members shall have a little speech on some matter of ecclesiastical life or duties; after that, each one may submit his doubts, or some case of conscience. The Secretary shall take down the names of the members in attendance, and the minutes of the proceedings, with the questions propounded and the solutions given thereto; and he shall send me his minutes, either by mail, postpaid, to spare my exchequer, or by some occasion. It would be well for the Chairman to prepare the subjects beforehand, and assign them for the next conference. These subjects may be on questions of Moral Theology, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, Justice, etc.—on Ecclesiastical duties, the means to reform abuses, to spread instruction, etc., etc., or finally difficult cases of conscience with their circumstances.





# DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

## Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda

### XXI.

#### BISHOP DU BOURG TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.<sup>1</sup>

Eminentissime Praefecte.

Quod vero attinet ad erectionem Novae Metropoleos, de qua unum solummodo verbum in praefato supplici libello factum est, inter Praesules praevalet opinio, *Civitatem S. Ludovici* inter omnes praeferendam, tum propter ipsius geographicam positionem, tum ob nascentem in dies circumvicinarum Regionum populationem et famam. Nullum profecto dubium est quin Religionis molumento valde profutura sit secunda Metropoleos creatio. Una tamen est difficultas, quae nos moratur. Nondum in Episcopalem Sedem erecta est *Civitas S. Ludovici*, nec ullatenus expedit ut dividatur, saltem ante longum tempus, Dioecesis Louisianensis. Inferior enim et Superior Louisiana sibi mutuo ita necessaria sunt, ut neque ista corporalem nec illa spiritualem pastum, a se invicem avulsae comparare valeret. Episcopali mensae, et Seminarii sustentationi utcumque providet inferior Louisiana; Superior sola est, unde altera Sacerdotes expectat. Utraque igitur societatis suae emolumentum habet, quo, si dividetur, in deterius utraque abeat necesse est. Dies forsán olim elucescet, cum alioqui expetenda divisio sine tam gravi detrimento effici poterit; at maturius semper in re tanti momenti erit procedendum, ne, sub specie majoris utilitatis, pessumdetur partis utriusque vigor. Impraesentiarum vero prorsus constat hujusmodi divisionem exitiosissimam fore, et summopere necessarium esse ut sub unius Episcopi auctoritate ambae remaneant, adjuncto tamen ipsi Coadjutore, qui in partem ipsius sollicitudinis veniat. Haec cum ita sint, duobus dumtaxat modis erigi posset praefata Metropolis, videlicet, vel sub generico nomine *Louisianae*, vel erigendo Civitatem *San Ludovicensem* in titulum Archiepiscopalem annexa ipsi Sede Neo-Aurelian-

<sup>1</sup> Archives of Propaganda. *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, 1822. These Documents, from the Roman Archives were copied in Rome (1882) by the Very Rev. Henry Van der Sanden, Chancellor of the Archdiocese. The dots indicate passages not copied, probably because they were deemed irrelevant to the History of the Diocese which the late Chancellor was compiling.

*ensi*. Quod si neutrum Sacrae Congregationi arriserit, nihil de nova Metropoli erit statuendum. Si vero posterius expedire videatur, propria San Ludovicensis Dioecesis circumscriptio esse potest *totus Status Missouriensis*, cum tota illa *Illinensis Status* parte quae inter flumen Mississippî et duodecimum longitudinis gradum jacet. Quod superest supremi hujus Status, cum Statu *Indianae*, nunc a Revmo Bardensi Antistite administratum, novam Dioecesim olim constituere poterit; sed nondum matura res est. Nova vero Metropolis, si erigere ipsam placuerit, omnes Sedes Episcopales citra juga Alleganiensia, sibi subjectas habere convenit.

Ad sacrae purp . . . etc.

✠LUD. GUIL. Episc. Neo-Aurel

S. Ludovici, in Statu Missouriano,  
Aprilis 25, 1820.

### TRANSLATION.

Your Eminence:—

Now touching the erection of a new Metropolitan See, about which only a word was said in the afore-mentioned petition,<sup>2</sup> the Bishops' prevailing opinion is that the *City of St. Louis* should have the preference above all others, on account of its geographical position, as well as of the increasing population and appreciation of the surrounding country. There can be no doubt that the creation of another Archbishopric is destined to serve greatly the interests of Religion. However, there is a difficulty which stops us: St. Louis has not yet been erected into an Episcopal See, and a division of Louisiana is in no wise advisable, at least for yet a good while. For Lower and Upper Louisiana are so necessary to each other, that if they be separated, the latter could not get temporal, and the other spiritual help. The Episcopal *mensa*, and the support of the seminary are somehow supplied by Lower Louisiana; from Upper Louisiana alone can priests be supplied. Each one, therefore, needs the society of the other; hence, if a division is made, both must of necessity suffer. At some future day, perhaps, it will be possible to make this division, otherwise desirable, without such great detriment; yet it will always be profitable to proceed slowly in a matter of such importance, lest, under the specious appearance of greater utility, the strength of both parts be impaired. For the present, at any rate, it is evident that the division would be a calamity; and it is of the utmost importance that both sections remain under the authority of only one Bishop, to whom, however, a Coadjutor should be given, to take a portion of his solicitude. In these conditions, only in two ways could

<sup>2</sup> The passage here omitted introduced the Rev. Angelo Inglesi (See REVIEW, Vol. II, p. 46, n. 4) and asked he be appointed Coadjutor. Document XXIII deals at great length with this request.

<sup>3</sup> This was, no doubt, a petition by the "western" Bishops, Flaget and David. (See SPALDING, *Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 216 and foll.)

the Metropolitan See of which we are speaking be erected: namely, by designating it under the generic name of Louisiana, or by the creation in St. Louis of an Archiepiscopal title to which would be joined the See of New Orleans, and if neither way meets the approval of the S. Congregation, then nothing should be done in regard to a new Archbishopric. If, however, the latter of the above-indicated means should be found expedient, then the Diocese of St. Louis proper might include all the State of Missouri, with all the part of the State of Illinois stretching between the Mississippi River and the 12th degree of longitude. The rest of the State, together with the State of Indiana, now under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bardstown, may, in the course of time, constitute a new Diocese; but the matter is not yet ripe for consideration. The new Metropolis, if it is the good pleasure of the Congregation to erect it, might have properly as Suffragan all the Episcopal Sees this side of the Alleghanies.

✠L. WM., Bp. of New Orl.

St. Louis, State of Missouri, April 25, 1820.

## XXII.

### *BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA, PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.<sup>1</sup>*

Deo favente, ad me nuper venerunt amplissimae litterae, quibus me docet Eminentia Vestra, etsi Sacra illa Congregatio Coadjutorem mihi dare sit parata, Domino tamen Ludovico Sibourd, Vicario meo Generali. quem ad hoc onus proposueram, tum propter provectam ipsius aetatem, sexaginta nempe et quatuor annorum, tum quia de ejus prudentia, virtute et doctrina satis ipsi non constat, nullo modo favere. Fateor aetatem grandaevam non modicum difficultatis facessere, quippe quae parum juvet ad immensas Episcopalis muneris, in tam dilatata Dioecesi, molestias perferendas.—De caeteris dotibus putabam me abunde satisfacisse. Sufficit vero quod sub uno respectu Sacrae Congregationi minus quam oportet idoneus videatur, ut ipsius sapientissimo oraculo me penitus subjiciam. Declaraveram sane me Domino Sibourd hac de causa adhaerere, quod praeter eum, vix alius praesto foret sacerdos in mea Dioecesi, qui eam experientiam, et cognitionem rerum et hominum in Episcopo summe necessarias, adquisivisset. In aliud igitur tempus necesse erit differre Coadjutoris electionem. Forsan intra unum aut alterum annum poterimus de alio cogitare, qui Sacrae Congregationis vota, aequae ac mea valeat explere. Interim dum vires mihi suppetunt, solus oneri humeros applicabo; et ad id juvabit quod infinita Dei misericordia mihi tandem omnium corda subjecit.

Pu'o Eminentiam Vestram non latere quanta odia in me prius in ista inferiori Louisiana efferbuissent, ita ut ipsam adire absque evidenti

<sup>1</sup> Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture referite nei Congressi*. Cod. 7. America Centrale. Dal Canada all Istmo di Panama. Dal 1821 a tto il 1822. Eminentissime Praefecte.



periculo non valerem. Non modicam igitur ipsi admirationem faciet audire me in hac Dioceseos meae lustratione, ad Novam usque Aureliam inter unanimes ferme cleri et populorum congratulationes advenisse.

A Domino factum est istud, et ita mirabilis apparuit animorum conversio, ut vix oculis suis credant, qui priorum angustiarum conscii, nunc consolationes videntes, quibus misericors Deus animam meam laetificat. Inter omnes qui ad adventum meum majora dedere et gaudi et reverentiae signa conspicuum quam maxime se praebeuit Rev. Pater Antonius de Sedella, ille ipse, qui antea, nescio cur, infensissimus mihi extiterat. Verba non sufficiant si narrare velim, quot et quantis honoribus me exceperit, et prope dicere ausim: "Nullum nunc habeo tam unanimum qui sincera dictione sollicitus sit pro me." Hujus ad exemplum tota se composuit Civitas, ita ut publice Synodum in ea ipsa urbe celebrare non pertimuerim, in qua uno abhinc anno faciem meam monstrare summi fuisset periculi.—

Ad Synodum hanc convenerunt viginti circiter sacerdotes ex inferiori Louisiana; qui omnes unanimes se exhibuerunt, tum in sua erga me observantia, tum in zelo Ecclesiasticae disciplinae tuendae. Multum quoque solatii attulit videre morum reformationem et pietatis incrementum quae in universis prope parochiis intra tam breve spatium, fratrum meorum laboribus, obtinuerunt.

De caeteris Sacram hanc Congregationem fusius docebit Reverendus Dnus. Angelus Inglesi, Romanus patria . . . de quo in praecedentibus. Hunc jam in Coadjutorem mihi rogare praesumerem, nisi meo iudicio, satius esset aliquot annos expectare, ut sibi inter fratres suos majorem existimationem conciliaret.

Licet mihi tamen, Eminentissime Praefecte, haec Tibi vota insinuare, ut si forte de vivis me auferri contigerit, antequam expleantur, sciat Eminentia Vestra nullum eo acceptiorem mihi fore in successorem. Gaudeo quod praesens occasio ipsum Eminentiae Vestrae caeterisque Eminentissimis S. Congregationis Patribus notum facere et desiderium meum promoveri possit.

Ad Sylvicolarum, qui in superioribus Dioeceseos meae partibus abundant, conversionem, vix animum usquedum adjicere licuit; et si potuissem, deerant operarii. Dudum de Patribus Societatis Jesu ad hoc praecellentissimum opus charitatis cogitaveram, nullumque, ad obtinendos aliquot ex eis, non moveram lapidem. In hac re plurimum mihi favit Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, datis ad Superiorem Generalem etiam epistolis, ut meis votis obsecundaret. Nihil tamen hactenus profeceramus. Sed nunc audio Superiores in hoc opus se propensiores exhibere. Dnum. Inglesi igitur monui, ut quod sibi ingenii et sollicitudinis inest, totum in maturando hoc consilo impendat. Et Eminentiam Vestram ferventissime precor ut ipsi adjutricem manum admoveat. Unus praecipue est inter Patres dictae Societatis, nomine *De Barat*, Burdigalae in inferiori Seminario degens, quem scio ardentissimo huc veniendi desiderio flagrare, vir pietate, doctrina, zeloque animarum nemini secundus; hunc suppliciter rogo mihi a Vicario Generali concedi, et Eminentiae Vestrae ad eum finem potentissimam mediationem mihi flagito. Huic se libenter comites adjicient aliqui ex junioribus inter

Gallos, alique provectionis aetatis inter eos quos e Moscovitarum finibus Gallia nuper exceperit. Quinque vel ad summum sex sufficerent, si duo vel tres ex Marylandia ipsis se adjungerent, quod summopere est peroptandum, tum propter linguae Anglicae peritiam, tum quia cum isti fortuna abundant, possent inopiae fratrum supplere. Cum extra subsidio, facile sibi iter pandet Evangelium ad gentes innumeras Mississippii et Missouri oris undequaque circumjacentes. Ad Eminentiam Vestram spectat, Eminentissime Praefecte, tantum opus inchoare. Ad illud viriliter se accingat. Ni faciat, vereor heterodoxos missionarios tam optabilis victoriae palmam a nobis ablaturus.

Parcat Eminentia Vestra epistolae hujus incoherentiae, et obtuso stylo. Iter agens scribo, in una ex his navibus, quae fervidae aquae vapore propelluntur.

✠LUD. GUIL. Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Ex Superiori Louisiana, die Sti. Mathiae Ap. 1821.

#### TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:—

I thank God for the consolation afforded me recently by the reception of your long letter,<sup>2</sup> wherein Your Eminence advises me that, although the S. Congregation is disposed to give me a Coadjutor, yet it does not at all favor the appointment of Father Louis Sibourd, my Vicar General, whom I had proposed for this office. The objection is taken from his advanced age—sixty-four—also from the lack of information as to his prudence, virtue and knowledge. I readily confess that his age causes a certain amount of difficulty, as it does not permit to undergo the considerable fatigues of the Episcopal charge in such an immense Diocese. With regard to the other qualifications, I thought I had explained myself quite sufficiently. But the fact that from one point of view he does not come up to the mark of the S. Congregation is enough for me to abide entirely by its most wise decision. I had plainly stated, though, that my reason for holding so much for Father Sibourd, was that, outside of him, I had scarcely any priest in my Diocese in possession of that experience, and knowledge of men and things, which are of prime necessity in a Bishop. We will have, therefore, to postpone to some other time the election of the Coadjutor. Perhaps within one or two years will we be able to think of someone else capable of meeting the requirements of the S. Congregation, and my own. Meanwhile, as long as my strength permits, I will bear the burden alone; and I will find no mean help in the fact that, by God's infinite mercy, all hearts are now obedient to me.

Your Eminence is aware, I believe, of the amount of hatred first aroused against me in this Lower Louisiana; it went so far that I could go there only at considerable risk. It will be to you, therefore, a source

<sup>2</sup> This seems to refer to Propaganda Letter No. 14 (REVIEW, Vol. II, p. 51-52), although the length of this document is not such as to justify the "*amplissimas*" wherewith Bishop Du Bourg qualifies it. But the subject matter fits in every point.

of great wonder to hear that, in this visitation of my Diocese, I have met, all the way to New Orleans, a practically unanimous welcome from the clergy and the people.<sup>3</sup>

This is truly the work of the Lord, and so wonderful has this change of spirit appeared, that the persons who knew the distress I was in, can scarcely believe their eyes when they behold the consolations with which the all-merciful God gladdens my soul. Among those who exhibited the greatest signs of joy and reverence at my coming, one of the most conspicuous was the Rev. Father Anthony de Sedella, the very same man who, in former times, I know not why, was most hostile to me. Words are unavailing to describe the honors with which he welcomed me, and I would dare say that there is no one more in harmony with me, no one to whom genuine affection prompts to more solicitude in my behalf. This example has given the tone to the whole city, so that I was not afraid to celebrate publicly a synod in that same city where, a year ago, merely to show myself would have meant extreme danger.

This Synod was made up of some twenty priests from Lower Louisiana. All manifested in unison both their obedience to me and their zeal for the maintenance of Ecclesiastical discipline. It afforded me likewise much consolation to see the change in morals and the increase of piety which, thanks to the labors of my brother-priests, has been effected in almost every parish within so short a space of time.<sup>4</sup>

As to the rest, the S. Congregation will be made fully cognizant of it by the Rev. Angelo Inglesi, a native of . . .<sup>5</sup> whom I mentioned in my preceding letter. I would not hesitate to ask him for my Coadjutor were it not proper, according to my judgment, to wait a few years, until he is more fully appreciated by his brother-priests.<sup>6</sup>

However, permit me, My Lord, to give you this hint of my wish, so that in case I should depart this life before this wish is fulfilled, Your Eminence may know that I deem no one to be more acceptable as my successor. I am glad that the present occasion is offered Your Eminence and the other Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation to know him and bring about the fulfilment of my desires.

<sup>3</sup> In several letters of this period, Bishop Du Bourg attributes this wonderful change to the exertions of Father Martial, whom he cannot praise too highly. Later events reversed considerably this feeling and this esteem.

<sup>4</sup> This glowing report appears too optimistic; or, if there was a change, it was not lasting: for, in a letter—perhaps somewhat pessimistic, although it mentions facts—of July 13, 1822, Father Martial wrote from New Orleans: "We had not, during this whole year, one single communion, not even at Easter, despite our instructions and pressing solicitations. Carelessness in regard to religion is rampant to a frightful degree." (Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite*, Cod. 7). It should be noted, however, that religion fared quite differently in the city and in country districts.

<sup>5</sup> Word illegible.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Du Bourg seems here to forget what he had already written in the beginning of his letter of April 25, 1820 (Document XXI, above). At any rate, he was not to wait "a few years" before making a strong plea for Inglesi's promotion, as may be seen from his very next letter, of May 3. The "few years" were reduced to a little more than two months.



So far I have scarcely been able to turn my attention to the conversion of the savages, who are in great numbers in the upper part of my Diocese. But even if I had been able to do so, there were no laborers. For some time past I have been thinking, for this paramount work of charity, of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and have left no stone unturned in order to secure some of them. In this regard I was greatly aided by His Holiness, who went so far as to write to the Superior General with a view to indorse my wishes. But hitherto our efforts have proved unsuccessful. However, I understand that the Superiors of the Society are now showing more willingness to undertake the work. I have accordingly recommended to Father Inglesi to make use of every resource his intelligence and zeal could prompt in order to bring this project to maturity. I likewise beg most earnestly Your Eminence to second his efforts. There is, in particular, one of the Fathers of the Society, *De Barat* by name, now in the Little Seminary of Bordeaux, whom I know to be most anxious to come here; his piety, knowledge and zeal are beyond par. I most earnestly pray the Vicar General to give him to me; and beseech to this end the aid of Your Eminence's most powerful influence. With him some of the younger French Jesuits will be glad to come, as also others, of riper years, among those who came lately from Russia to France. Five, or six at most, would be sufficient, if to them were added two or three from Maryland—a thing most desirable on account of their knowledge of English, and also because, as these are well off financially, they could supply the want of their brothers. With this help the Gospel cannot fail to make headway among the numberless nations on both sides of the Mississippi and of the Missouri. Your Eminence should make it his business to undertake such a great work. Do manfully gird your loins to do it! If you do not, I am afraid the Protestant missionaries will wrest from us this so desirable palm of victory.

Please, Your Eminence, to pardon me the incoherence of this letter and its uncouth style. I am writing while on a journey on one of those boats propelled by steam.

✠L. WM., Bp. of New Orl.

Upper Louisiana, St. Mathias' Day, 1821.

### XXIII.

#### *BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA, PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.<sup>1</sup>*

Eminentissime Praefecte.

Etsi per duos continuos annos Sacram hanc Congregationem impensius rogare non destiterim, ut Coadjutorem mihi, in partem Episcopalis meae solitudinis, adiscere dignaretur, numquam tamen, animum

<sup>1</sup> Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture referite nei Congressi*. Cod. 7. This is really the "darkest page" in the history of Bishop Du Bourg's administration.

vehementius affecerat urgens auxilii hujusmodi necessitas, quam cum in immensum succrescentes curae, decrescentesque eadem ratione vires, monent me solum tanto oneri sustentando parem diu non futurum. E memoria quippe Eminentiae Vestrae excidere nolim Diocesim hanc sexcentis et amplius leucis in longitudinem extendi, cujus utraque extremitas Episcopi praesentiam prorsus exigit. Sex fere menses nuper absumpsi in cursoria perlustratione solius inferioris Louisianae, quae licet populationem praecipuam, vix tamen sextam extensione partem Dioecesis constituit. Ducentis supra mille millibus a Nova Aurelia distat oppidum Sti. Ludovici, alterum crescentis in dies populationis centrum. Interjacentes regiones disjunctis hac illac, magnoque tractu, ut plurimum, a se invicem sejunctis habitationibus componuntur. Unde facile videre potest Eminentia Vestra Episcopum unum, etsi herculeo robore, vitamque integram in arduis visitationis laboribus agat, vix ac ne vix quidem, satis muneri suo facere usquam posse. Ad haec, timor ne, me intempestive inter tot curas et continua pericula sublato, longa viduitate afflicta Dioecesis in statum recidat pejorem priore, quiescere animum non sinit, donec per Coadjutoris institutionem, ipsius et praesenti necessitati et futurae firmitati provisum fuerit.

Non diffitebor equidem virum aetate provectum parum tantis solitudinibus aptum esse. Hujusmodi tamen non levis auxilii fuisset, Sedem suam in alterutro Dioecesis fine constituens vigilantiae saltem et continuarum peregrinationum onere me partim levasset, praeterquam quod successionis quasi quoddam extitisset vinculum. Ideo nullum praesto habens mediae aetatis sacerdotem, quem ad hoc onus propter veritusque ne longe majores adversus juniorem exceptiones assurgerent, senes duos successive designaveram, Revdos. scilicet *Antonium de Sedella et Ludovicum Sibourd*. His objecit Sacra Congregatio, nec conqueror. Restat igitur ut inter juniores unum seligam, qui maturitate judicii, sincera devotione, aliisque praeclaris dotibus aetatis defectui abundantius suppleat.

Hunc, ni me fallit affectus, inveni in dilectissimo filio meo Revdo. Angelo Inglesi, quem Divina Providentia mihi consolatorem in angustiis, et baculum ingruentis jam senectutis, mirabiliter deputavit. Dicam quod res est. Neminem unquam habui tam unanimem, qui sincera dilectione pro me et ovibus meis sollicitiorem se praebuerit. Haec ipsa fuit sollicitudo, quae, cum viderit me subsidiis quasi omnibus, sive ad vitam sustentandam, sive ad promovendam Missionum nostrarum utilitatem indigere, ad Europam illum abduxit, ut et aere proprio, utique non modico, et mendicatis fidelibus largitionibus, inopiae nostrae suppleret, novasque, quibus plurimum deficiamus, operariorum copias colligeret. Adeo vere ipsum, praecipuum Dioecesis Fundatorem, a longe salutare non dubitem. Eminentiam Vestram latere non arbitror quot jam peregrinationes hac de causa suscepit, quanta dignitate legatione sua functus, quantoque honore ubicumque a maximis etiam principibus variarumque gentium proceribus fuerit cumulatus. Haec sane prudentiam arguunt supra aetatem, nec dubitare sinunt quin novus hic Timotheus ita se in Episcopali munere sit gesturus ut nemo adolescentiam ejus contemnat. Quidni igitur non jam votis meis, sed universi

cleri et plebis Louisianensis annuatur, qui cum consona voce in Coadjutorem et successorem meum advocant?

Forsan obstant Ecclesiae leges, quae quadragesimum annum ad Episcopatum requirunt. Sed quoties cum ipsis dispensatum jam fuit! Multum profecto a quadragesimo distabant Titus et Timotheus, quin et dilectus Apostolus. Et ut ad tempus nostrum veniamus, caeteris pluribus omissis, vix arbitror trigesimo excessisse Illmum. Dnum. De Quelen, cum ad Archiepiscopatum Nazianzenum et Sedis Parisiensis Coadjutorium nuper est promotus. Parcat Eminentia Vestra. Dicam quod sentio. Ubi concurrunt in praecellenti gradu, fides, prudentia, docilitas et Religionis studium, nedum hujusmodi promotioni obstare debeat juvenilis aetas, plurimum e contrario juvare videtur. Hic enim nondum agitur de potestatis Episcopalis exercitio, sed de ejusdem, ut ita dicam, tyrocinio, quod, quanto citius incoeptum, quanto longius protractum, tanto utiliorem experientiam ad futuram administrationem comparabit. Successorem habere cupio, qui prius quam habenas suscipiat longo usu jam sacris functionibus et gubernio assuefactus fuerit; non quod ea sim praesumptione ut putem me capacem esse aliquem ad tam formidandum opus docere, sed quod, divina afflante et auxiliante gratia, ita praeter spem successit methodus quam diuturna et hominum et locorum notitia mihi suggessit, ut jure verear ne, alia et jam intentata ratione, tam fausta initia pessum itura sint.

Caeterum Eminentiae Vestrae et Sacrae huic Congregationi jam notum esse puto Revm. Dnum. Inglesi; Literis enim datis Lutetiae Parisiorum 23 Februarii decurrentis anni doceor eum tunc proxime in Germaniam, inde Romam profecturum; unde colligo eum Romae fore, cum istae ad manus Eminentiae Vestrae pertinent.

Judicio igitur Sacrae Congregationis omnia, ut aequum est, submitto, vehementer quidem cupiens, ut si ita Eminentissimis PP. videbitur, dictus Revus. Dnus. Romae episcopalis consecrationis ritum subeat, id enim perfecto legationis ipsius successui non modicum inserviret; sin minus, Eminentiam Vestram persuasam esse volens de mea ad nutum S. Congregationis integra resignatione. Sperans tamen me tertiam vice repulsam non passurum, unum adjiciam, ut, si contigerit eum jam Roma discessum ipsius ei institutio per manus Burdigalensis Archiepiscopi quamprimum dirigatur ut episcopalem unctionem, ubicumque fuerit, recipere valeat. Sane praevidere debeo eum, pro ingenita modestia, tanto honori repugnaturum; confido tamen, cum Episcopi et fratrum suorum votis, tum praesertim consiliis Eminentiae Vestrae et Mandatis Summi Pontificis humiliter obtemperaturum.

✠LUD. GUIL. DU BOURG, Ep. Neo.-Aurel.

Novae Aureliae, die Maii 3a, 1821.

#### TRANSLATION.

My Lord Cardinal:—

Although for the space of two years I have never ceased to beseech the S. Congregation to deign to give me a Coadjutor who could take part



of my Episcopal charge, yet never was ever my mind so strongly affected by the urgent necessity of such a help, as when I hear, from the cares which increase almost to the infinite, and from my strength waning in proportion, the warning that I shall not be long able to bear alone such an immense burden. Your Eminence must not forget, indeed, that this Diocese extends to more than six hundred leagues in length, and that both ends require equally the presence of the Bishop. It has just taken me almost six months to make a rapid visitation of Lower Louisiana alone, which though it is the principal portion of the Diocese in regard to population, is scarcely one-sixth of it in point of area. More than twelve hundred miles separate from New Orleans the town of St. Louis,<sup>2</sup> the second center of a population which grows every day. The territory between is made up of settlements scattered here and there, and usually at considerable distances from one another. From this Your Eminence may easily realize that one Bishop, were he even endowed with herculean strength and devoting his whole time to the arduous labor of the visitations, can hardly—nay, cannot—discharge all the duties of his charge. Besides, the fear that, should it happen that, amidst so many cares and dangers, I were suddenly taken away, the Diocese afflicted by a long vacancy might fall into a condition worse than before, will not leave any rest to my mind until the appointment of a Coadjutor provides for the present necessity of the said Diocese and its future maintenance.

I readily agree that a man advanced in years is little suited for such a great solicitude. Yet such a man would nevertheless be of great help, as by fixing his residence in one portion of the Diocese, he would relieve me of the burden of watchfulness and incessant travel, besides establishing a kind of bond of succession. Because I have here no priest of middle age, whom I could propose for this office, and was afraid that stronger objections would be made against the appointment of a younger man, I had designated successively two old men, namely, the Revs. *Anthony de Sedella* and *Louis Sibourd*. That the S. Congregation objected to their appointment, I do not complain. But then it remains to me to choose from among the younger clergy one who, by the maturity of his judgment, his sincere devotion and his other remarkable qualifications may make up what he lacks in years.

Such a one, unless affection misleads me, I have found in the person of my most beloved son, the Rev. Angelo Inglesi, whom Divine Providence has placed by my side to be to me a comforter in my sorrows and the staff of my coming old age. To tell plainly the truth, never did I have anyone so congenial to me, and who ever showed greater affection for me and greater solicitude for my flock. This solicitude it was which, when he saw me destitute of almost every means either of supporting myself, or of promoting the interests of our missions, led him to Europe, in order that both with his own fortune, which is not small, and with the offerings that he would beg from the faithful,

---

<sup>2</sup> Distances were reckoned by the course of the Mississippi River, the only "highway" then available.

he might supply our want, and recruit a new band of laborers that we are so much in need of. For this reason I do not hesitate to salute him from afar as the chief founder of the Diocese. I believe that Your Eminence is aware of the journeys he has already undertaken for that purpose, of how worthily he has acquitted himself of his mission, and of the honors bestowed upon him everywhere, even by the greatest princes and the potentates of various countries. All this evinces certainly a prudence beyond his age and leaves no doubt that this new Timothy will so conduct himself in the Episcopate that no one shall despise his youth. Why should not, therefore, this satisfaction be given not only to my own wishes, but also to those of the whole clergy and people of Louisiana, who unanimously desire him for my Coadjutor and successor.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps this is contrary to the Church's law, requiring forty years of age for the Episcopal order.<sup>4</sup> But how often has not dispensation been given! No doubt, Titus and Timothy were far from their fortieth year; farther still the Beloved Apostle. And to speak of our own time, and without mentioning other cases, I am pretty sure that the Most Rev. De Quélen was scarcely over thirty years old when he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Nazianza and the Coadjutorship of Paris. I beg Your Eminence to pardon me; but I must tell all that is in my mind. Where are united in a superior degree faith, prudence, docility and zeal, far from being an obstacle, youth ought to be, on the contrary, a recommendation. For here there is not yet question of the exercise of the Episcopal power, but, if I may so say, of the apprenticeship thereof; and the sooner this is commenced, and the longer it lasts, the more useful the experience which it will impart for administration later on. The kind of successor I wish is one who, before taking in hand the reins, should be fully trained by a long practice of ecclesiastical functions and government. Not that I am so presumptuous as to think I am able to train anyone to so tremendous a work, but such unexpected happy results have, with the help of God's grace, been obtained by the method which a long acquaintance with men and places

---

<sup>3</sup> How much "the whole clergy of Louisiana" were desiring the appointment of Inglesi as Du Bourg's Coadjutor and successor, we may gather from the letter of Father Martial already quoted above: "A letter which I wrote to him last winter in reply to his, concerning his asking Fr. Inglesi as Coadjutor, came very near estranging us. . . . The opposition which manifested itself when it became known that he wished to have Father Inglesi for his Coadjutor so rent his soul asunder that he issued forth a circular letter to the priests to strike fear into them. True, he was sorry for it afterwards, when he beheld the effect it had produced: well, clever men make sometimes frightful mistakes!" It should be borne in mind, however, that this was written after the disclosures concerning Inglesi's reported misbehavior in Rome had reached Louisiana and may be somewhat colored by these revelations. There is perhaps a little, in Father Martial's tone, of the "I told-you-so."

<sup>4</sup> Bishop Du Bourg is here apparently mistaken. The old ecclesiastical law required, like the new one (Can. 331), thirty years of age, in the candidates for the Episcopal Order. But this mistake in Canon Law affords to the Bishop the occasion for a display of eloquent pleading which, in view of later events, is truly pitiful.

dictated to me, that I have every reason to be afraid that, if another and untried means be adopted, these happy beginnings may turn into a failure.

At all events, I believe that by this time the Rev. Father Inglesi is known to Your Eminence and to the S. Congregation. A letter written to me from Paris on February 23 of the present year advises me that he was to leave shortly, first for Germany, then for Rome; hence I surmise he will be in Rome when this letter reaches Your Eminence.

Of course, I leave ultimately everything to the judgment of the S. Congregation; still I most earnestly desire that, if so please the Eminent Cardinals, the said Rev. Father may be consecrated over there, as this would contribute immensely to the complete success of his mission abroad; if, however, such is not your good pleasure, I want Your Eminence to be fully convinced of my unreserved resignation to the will of the Sacred Congregation. Hoping, however, that this time—it is the third time—I shall not meet with a refusal, I beg that, if he happened to have already left Rome, his brief of institution be sent him as soon as possible through the Archbishop of Bordeaux, so that he may receive Episcopal consecration at any place where he may happen to be. Of course, I must foresee that, in his modesty, he will be reluctant to accept the honor; I trust, nevertheless, that, in view of the wishes of his Bishop and of his brother-priests,<sup>5</sup> and still more, of the advice of Your Eminence and the command of the Sovereign Pontiff, he will humbly acquiesce.<sup>6</sup>

✠L. WM. DU BOURG, Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, May 3, 1821.

## XXIV.

### CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.<sup>1</sup>

#### NO. 15.

Maxima perfusus sum laetitia ex Ampl. Tuae litteris datis die 24 Februarii proxime elapsi, ex quibus non sine admiratione percepi magnam, ac salutarem Novae Aureliae factam esse spiritualium rerum

<sup>5</sup> See above, Note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Martial's letter adds to that story, already sad enough in itself, a statement as disparaging to Bishop Du Bourg as it is distasteful. There seems to have been a report circulating in Rome that Inglesi himself had asked to be appointed Du Bourg's Coadjutor. This is scarcely credible. How much truth there is in what follows is hard to discern: "Bishop Du Bourg," wrote Martial, "attested that the proposal that Inglesi be made Coadjutor was made to him by Propaganda itself through the Prefect, Card. Fontana; that Father Inglesi refused, and that the Sovereign Pontiff forced him to accept the Bulls, so that he might be consecrated later on in St. Louis. This last bit of information was communicated to us by the young men from Lyons and Turin which the Count sent us as missionaries." Bishop Du Bourg's statement must, of course, have been materially true; only he guarded carefully, in view of the prevailing opposition, from saying that Cardinal Fontana and Propaganda acted in compliance with his own (D. B.'s) earnest plea.

<sup>1</sup> Original in Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery.



commutationem; visitationem Tuam non modo benevole, sed etiam lac-  
tanter exceptam tum a Parocho Antonio de Sedella, qui prius adeo Tibi  
infestus erat, tum a reliqua Catholicorum multitudine, eorum mores  
tuorum operariorum studio, ac labore aliquantum reformatos, Syno-  
dum celebrationem, et Ecclesiasticam Disciplinam jam pene collapsam in  
pristinum restitutam, Benedictus Deus Pater misericordiarum, qui gratia  
sua aberrantes ad bonam frugem revocare dignatus est; atque ex faus-  
tis hisce principiis sperare licet futurum, ut omnia in posterum feliciter  
componantur. Ad Coadjutorem vero tuum, quod attinet, non satis  
quidem nobis probatum erat, ut ad hoc munus deligeretur D. Ludovicus  
Sibourd, qui Te provectior aetate est; neque Ampl. Tua vel senectute,  
vel valetudinis incommodis adeo confecta est, ut Coadjutore nunc egeat.  
Potius quam Coadjutore, majori quidem Pastorum numero vastissima  
ista Diocesis indigere videtur; non enim in tanta Regionum amplitudine  
unus tantum Episcopus tot dissitorum Fidelium Curam exercere facile  
potest; ideoque maxime profuturum putarem, si Dioecesis ista in Tres  
saltem Ecclesias divideretur, quarum una inferiorem Luisianam,  
altera Superiorem, tertia Floridas complecti posset; et cum ita se res  
haberent, Dnus Sibourd, cujus merita tantopere effers, ad unam posset  
ex novis ejusmodi Ecclesiis promoveri. R. D. Angelus Inglesi, qui  
nunc Romae versatur, ac de istius Ecclesiae statu apprime certiores nos  
fecit, pietate, studio, ac ceteris dotibus satis cumulatus esse videtur; sed  
viridi adhuc aetate, ac missione recens est, ideoque expectandum, ut  
adhuc majora praebeat suarum argumenta virtutum, nec non experien-  
tiam, ac Populorum fiduciam, et gratiam comparare Sibi possit. Voti  
tamen Tui suo loco, et tempore habebitur ratio. Illud interea, de quo  
non minus Ampl. o Tua quam S. Congreg. o, valde sollicita est, conver-  
sionem respicit Sylvicularum, qui in Superioribus praesertim Luisianae  
Partibus affluunt, quique ex errorum tenebris ad Lumen veritatis facile  
perduci possunt, si operariorum copia suppeteret. Equidem sentio,  
nullos magis ad hoc opus idoneos fore, quam Patres Societatis Jesu;  
omnemque propterea navabo operam, ut P. Praepositus generalis faveat  
sententiae tuae, nec solum permittat Patri de Barat Burdigalae mo-  
ranti, ut se cum aliis, qui e Russia migrarunt, isthuc se conferat, sed  
etiam curet, ut duo vel tres ex Marylandia mittantur. Ampl. m Tuam  
de rei exitu faciam quamprimum certiore. Sed necesse est, ut Loca  
designes, ac circumscribas, quae PP. Jesuitarum Missioni sint tribuen-  
da, ne dissidia, et collisiones postea exoriantur. De his omnibus rogo  
Ampl. m Tuam, ut mihi sententiam Tuam aperiat; atque interim Deum  
precor, ut eandem diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampl. s Tuae.

Romae ex aedibus S. Congn. de Propaganda Fide 2 Junii, 1821.

Uti Frater Studiosissimus,

F. CARD. FONTANA, Praefectus.

Illmo, ac Rmo D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg Epo Novae Aure-  
liae in foederatis Americae Provinciis S. Ludovicum.

C. M. PEDICINI, Sec. rius.

## TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Sir:—

An immense pleasure was afforded me by your Lordship's letter in date of February 24 of this year, in which I have learned, with no small wonderment, the great and salutary change which has taken place in the spiritual life of New Orleans<sup>2</sup>: Your visitation was received not only with decency, but with gladness, both by the Rector, Father Anthony de Sedella, who formerly was so stubbornly opposed to you, and by the Catholics at large; the morals of the people, thanks to the zeal and work of your co-laborers, have undergone a change for the better; a synod was convened, and ecclesiastical discipline, which was almost ruined, has gained a new vigor. Blessed be God, the Father of mercies, whose grace has turned the refractory to better sentiments; from this happy beginning there is every reason to hope that everything henceforth will be arranged to satisfaction.

In regard to your Coajutator, I must say we could not see our way to select for this office Father Louis Sibourd, who is older than you; moreover, your Lordship is not so broken down either by age or by ill-health, as to be in need of a Coajutor just now. Rather than a Coadjutor, it seems that a greater number of Bishops is what that immense Diocese seems to want<sup>3</sup>; for in such a vast territory one Bishop alone can hardly care for the number of the faithful, scattered as they are. I should think, therefore, that it would be of the utmost interest of the Diocese if it were divided into three: one could comprise Lower Louisiana, another Upper Louisiana, and the third the Floridas. In this hypothesis, Father Sibourd, whose merit you extol so much, might well be promoted to one of these new churches. As to Rev. Angelo Inglesi, who is presently in Rome, and has given us at first hand a report of the state of your church, he seems to be possessed of enough piety, zeal and the other qualifications; but he is still quite young, and recently arrived in your Mission; we must wait, therefore, until he has a chance of giving yet better proofs of his virtue, acquiring experience and ingratiating himself into the confidence and good will of the people. Your wish, though, will be taken into account in the proper place and at the proper time.

Meanwhile what Your Lordship has no less at hand than the S. Congregation, concerns the conversion of the savages, who are in great numbers through Upper Louisiana, and may be easily brought from the darkness of error to the Light of truth, provided there are laborers. I indeed feel like yourself that no workers are better fitted for this task than the Fathers of the Society of Jesus; accordingly I will do my utmost to bring the Superior general to consent to your proposal, and not only permit to Father de Barat, now residing at Bordeaux, to go

---

<sup>2</sup> See above, Document XXII, Note 4.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been something like a deadlock: Bishop Du Bourg insisting all along on having a Coadjutor and opposing the division of the Diocese; at least, the separation of Upper from Lower Louisiana; Propaganda, on the other hand, far from keen about the Coadjutorship, but intent on dividing the Diocese.

over there with others who came recently from Russia, but also to see to it that two or three from Maryland be sent. I shall without delay notify Your Lordship of the result of this negotiation. But you ought to mention and specify exactly the places to be attributed to the Mission of the Jesuit Fathers, in order to preclude all misunderstandings and conflicts for the future.

Concerning all these matters I beg Your Lordship to give me your opinion. Meantime I pray God to give you yet long years and good health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. CARD. FONTANA, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congreg. of Propaganda, June 23, 1821.

The Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orleans.

St. Louis, U. S. A.

C. M. PEDICINI, Secretary.

## XXV.

### CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.<sup>1</sup>

Illme, ac Rme Dne.

Quae Ampl.o Tua de Missione erigenda in amplissima ista Diocesi sub directione, et Cura Patrum Societatis Jesu ad procurandam Sylvicularum conversionem mihi proposuit, ea Praeposito Gen.li ejusdem Societatis enixe commendare non defui; sed ex responso, quod ille reddidit, cujusque exemplum his litteris adjungo, facile intelliges, illum pro nunc ob Operariorum paucitatem tam praeclarum opus aggredi nullo modo posse. Tuum itaque erit, alias persequi vias, quibus laudabile hoc tuum propositum perficiatur; nihil enim est tam sanctum, ac vere Apostolicum, quam barbaras gentes in errorum tenebris delitescentes ad lumen veritatis, ac aeternae salutis semitam perducere. Quod cum pro Tua satis mihi perspecta sollicitudine, ac studio Te minime neglecturum confido, D. O. M. precor, ut Ampl.m Tuam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampl.s Tuae,

Romae ex aedibus S. Congñis de Propaganda Fide 23. Junii, 1821.

Uti Frater Studiosissimus

F. CARD. FONTANA, Praefectus.

Illm, ac Rmo D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg, Epo. Novae Aureliae Luisiana.

S. Ludovicum.

C. M. PEDICINI, Secr.ius.

## TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Sir:—

Your Lordship's proposal concerning the erection of a mission in your immense Diocese, for the evangelization of the savages, under the

<sup>1</sup> Original in Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery.



direction, and in care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, I did not fail to recommend warmly to the Superior General of said society. But from the answer returned by him, a copy of which I enclose herein, you may easily understand that, by reason of the scarcity of laborers, he is for the present unable to undertake this noble work. It accordingly devolves upon you to adopt other means to bring about the realization of your praiseworthy design: no work, indeed, is holier and more apostolic than that of turning barbarous nations, plunged in the darkness of error, to the light of truth and the path of eternal salvation. What I know of your solicitude and zeal assures me that you will not neglect these means.

I pray Almighty God to give Your Lordship long years and perfect health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. CARD. FONTANA, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Cong. of Propaganda, June 23, 1821.

To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans, St. Louis, La.

C. M. PEDICINI, Secretary.

## XXVI.

### CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.<sup>1</sup>

#### NO. 17.

Illmo, ac Rme Dñe.

Cum ad examen revocata fuerint ea, quae Ampl.o Tua per literas 20. Aprilis elapsi anni exposuit circa liberatatem, quam sibi arrogare posse arbitrantur plerique istarum Provinciarum Episcopi, Promovendi nimirum ad Sacros Ordines eos, qui cum alienae sint Dioecesis in Americam proficiscuntur sacro ministerio operam daturi; non tanti quidem ponderis visa sunt Ems Patribus allata rationum momenta, ut id licitum censendum sit. Patenter quippe obstat peroulgata Innocentii XII. Constitutio *Speculatores domus Israel* edita die 4. Novembris anni 1694, quae universam afficit Ecclesiam, et in qua ad evellendos abusus, et fraudes circa Sacras Ordinationes alienorum subditorum, nec non ad veteris Disciplinae instaurationem, totiusque Christiani Populi aedificationem edicitur, nulli Episcopo licere externum quempiam sibi non subditum ad Sacros Ordines promovere, nisi ille domicilium per decennium saltem ibi contraxerit, suumque revera esse animum ibi permanendi jurejurando sponderit, exhibitis etiam Testimonialibus litteris Ordinarii, sub quo originem duxit, prout fusius in eadem Constitutione decernitur. Ex quo quidem satis patet, Apl.m Tuam in promovendo non subditos, non servatis iisdem conditionibus in eam incidisse poenam, quae per eandem Constitutionem infertur, ut nempe Ordinarii ab Ordinum Collatione per annum, ordinati vera a susceptorum Ordinum exequutione, quamdiu proprio Ordinario expedire videbitur, eo ipso suspensi remaneant. Cum vero Ems Patribus satis persuasum

sit, Ampl.m Tuam non in spretum Aplicae Constitutionis sed bona fide illam violasse, censuerunt, supplicandum SSmo, ut tam Ampl.m Tuam, quam eos, qui a Te sic ordinati fuerunt, Aplica sua auctoritate, quatenus opus sit, a praedictis poenis absolvere dignaretur; cui S. Congñis consilio Bñus Pater in audientia habita per infraptum Secretarium die 15. hujus mensis benigne annuit. Monitam tamen tum Ampl.m Tuam, tum ceteros istarum Provinciarum Antistites esse velim, ut in posterum eidem Constitutioni se plane conforment; atque interim Deum precor, ut Te diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampl.s Tuae

Romae ex aedibus S. Congñis de Propaganda Fide 21 Julii 1821.

F. CARD. FONTANA, Praefectus.

Illmo, ac Rmo D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg.

Epo Novae Aureliae in Luisiana.

S. Ludovicum in agro Illinensi.

C. M. PEDICINI, Secr.ius.

#### TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Sir:—

On examining the matter submitted by Your Lordship in your letter of April 20 of last year, namely, the liberty which most of the Bishops of the United States think they can arrogate to themselves, of promoting to Sacred Orders those who, belonging to another Diocese, go to America to exercise there the sacred ministry, their Eminences did not deem the arguments alleged weighty enough to render the practice lawful. It evidently indeed runs counter to the well-known Constitution *Speculatores*, of Innocent XII, in date of November 4, 1694, which binds the whole Church, and in which, in view to uproot abuses and prevent frauds in the matter of the ordinations of alien subjects to Sacred Orders, as well as to restore the old discipline and promote the edification of the Christian people, it is enacted that no Bishop can lawfully raise anyone not his own subject to Sacred Orders, unless the candidate has established there his domicile for at least ten years, and affirmed under oath that he has truly the intention of remaining there; he should, moreover, bring testimonial letters from the Ordinary of the place of his birth, as is decreed quite at length in the aforesaid Constitution.

From the foregoing it is quite clear that Your Lordship, in ordaining men who were not your own subjects, without complying with the above-mentioned conditions, incurred the penalty enacted by said Constitution, namely, that the Ordinaries are suspended *ipso facto* for one year from conferring Orders, and those whom they ordained, from the exercise of the Orders received, for as long as shall be deemed expedient by their Ordinary. As Their Eminences, however, are fully convinced that Your Lordship broke the Apostolic Constitution in good faith, and not out of contempt, they were of opinion that the Holy Father should be beseeched to deign absolve from the afore-mentioned penalties, by his Apostolic authority, insofar as needs be, both Your

Lordship and those who were thus ordained by you. The Holy Father, in the audience granted to the undersigned Secretary on the 15th inst., kindly acceded to the request of the S. Congregation. I wish, however, to warn Your Lordship and all the other Prelates of the United States, that they should henceforth conform in every point with the above-mentioned Constitution. Meanwhile I pray God to keep you yet many years, and in good health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. CARD. FONTANA, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, July 21, 1821.

To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orleans, Louisiana.

St. Louis of the Illinois.

C. M. PEDICINI, Secretary.

## XXVII.

### CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.<sup>1</sup>

NO. 20.<sup>2</sup>

Illmo ac Rme Dñe.

Semel, atque iterum scripsi Ampl.ni Tuæ, ut quoniam Ecclesia ista tam ampla est, ut Episcopus unus plenam ipsius curam exercere vix possait, nimis expedire visum fuerit, eam in tres saltem partes dividere, quarum una inferiorem Luisianæ partem, altera superiorem, tertia denique Floridas complecteretur. Quoties ad hanc divisionem devenire, ut spero, consenseris, unus ex novis duobus Episcopis maxime idoneus esse posse videtur Rmus D. Patritius Kelly Richmondiensis Episcopus, vir sane pietate, prudentia, atque doctrina maxime commendatus. Cum enim S. Congo justis, gravibusque de causis illum ad aliam Ecclesiam transferre decreverit, nulla opportunior offerre se posset ad hanc translationem occasio, quam in aliqua ex duabus novis erigendis Ecclesiis. Dum igitur hac de re consilium tuum sollicite expecto, D. O. M. precor ut A. T. diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Amp.dnis Tuæ.

Romæ ex Ædibus S. Conñis de Prop.da Fide die 3. Octobris, 1821.

Uti Frater Studiosissimus

F. CARD. FONTANA, Praefectus.

R. P. D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg,

Epo Novae Aureliae.

S. Ludovicum.

C. M. PEDICINI, Secr. ius.

<sup>1</sup> Original in Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery.

<sup>2</sup> It may be seen from the number affixed to this Document that Letters of Propaganda Nos. 18 and 19 are missing.



## TRANSLATION.

Twice did I write to Your Lordship that, as your Diocese is so extensive that one Bishop can hardly take full care of it, it seemed most expedient that it should be divided into at least three parts, the first to include Lower Louisiana, the second Upper Louisiana, and the third the Floridas. Whenever you consent, as I hope, to come to this dismemberment, the Right Rev. Patrick Kelly,<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Richmond, would, it seems, be most suitable as one of the two new Bishops: he is a man highly esteemed for his piety, his prudence and his knowledge. As the S. Congregation has, for grave reasons, decided to transfer him to another See, no better opportunity could be found for this transfer than to put him in one of the new Bishoprics to be established.

While anxiously waiting for your opinion in this matter, I pray Almighty God to keep Your Lordship yet many years and in good health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. CARD. FONTANA, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, October 3, 1821.

To Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans.  
St. Louis.

C. M. PEDICINI, Secretary.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA.<sup>1</sup>

Eminentissime Praefecte.

Plurima laetitia me affecerunt literae Em.æ V.æ mensis Octobris proxime elapsi, ea potissimum ratione quod mihi spem certam afferant breve consummandam fore, quam saepius ab Emō antecessore Vestro, flebilis mem. Card. Litta, imo et a SS.DD. N. enixe postulaveram, *Floridarum* a mea jurisdictione separationem. Non solum igitur earum erectioni in Sedem Episcopalem, quantum ex me pendet, assentio, sed iterum atque iterum precor ut quanto citius executioni mandetur. . . . Hujus Dioeceseos limites eum qui nunc vocatur *Ager Floridarum* et Alabamae Statum complecti possent. Titulus et Sedes, ut opinor, esse debet *Oppidum Mobilense*, utpote utrique parti confine et convenientissime, juxta os praecipui fluminis, Tom-big-bee non longe a mari situm.

Quod attinet ad erectionem alterius Sedis in Civitate S. Ludovici

<sup>3</sup> Born in Ireland, April 16, 1779; ordained at Lisbon, Portugal, July 18, 1802; consecrated August 24, 1820, as first Bishop of Richmond, erected in spite of the opposition of Archbishop Maréchal; the Holy See soon realized that the judgment of the Archbishop was correct, and placed the Diocese under the administration of the Archbishop of Baltimore, Bishop Kelly being transferred to the See of Lismore and Waterford (Ireland), in 1822. It will be seen that at the time of the writing of this letter, Propaganda had come to realize the impossibility of having a See at Richmond. The "*graves causae*" making the transfer of Bishop Kelly to another See are now transparent enough; but they may not have been for the Bishop of New Orleans.

<sup>1</sup> Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture referite nei Congressi*. Cod. 7.

in Statu Missouriano, nulli certe magis quam mihi ipsi arridere et in votis esse debet, quippe quae immensis laboribus et curis me liberaret; unum tamen me ab ea statim postulanda adhuc remoratur, nempe desiderium quo vehementer urgeor, possessiones satis amplas, quas in dotationem illius Sedis comparavi omni prorsus debito et onere prius solvendi; quod ante unum annum, Deo juvante, me effecturum confido. Libentissime tunc partem illam meae sollicitudinis in manus Summi Pontificis resignabo, nulli sacrificio parcens, ut novus Antistes in ea collocatus, temporalibus curis et summa rerum omnium egestate, quae me per plures annos affligerant, immunis esse possit. Consummato hoc opere, me accingam ad praeparandam viam formationi mediae Dioecesis inter S. Ludovicum et Novam Aureliam, quae *Statum Mississippi et Agrum Arcansas* complectatur. Sic ex una quatuor, intra paucos annos, conflabuntur, et si S. tae Sedi placuerit, novam ecclesiasticam provinciam constituere poterunt. Et quidem necesse duco de hoc prius cogitare quam ad divisionem quamcumque procedatur. Nam immensa distantia quae nos a Baltimore separat, insuperque morum, indolum et linguarum diversitas quae vastissimam hanc regionem a caeteris Americae partibus distinguit, non patiuntur ut fractio aliqua meae Dioecesis Metropoli illi subjiciatur. Aliunde Novae Aureliae erigendarum Sedium stipiti, tum propter Episcopalem antiquitatem, tum ob ipsius opulentiam, immensamque populationem longe majore ex parte Catholicam, tum demum quia caeteris partibus facilis ad eam per commune flumen patet accessus, Metropolitana dignitas jure competere videtur.

Rev. mis et Dil. mis Patribus et Collegis meis Bardensi, Mauricastroensi et Cincinnatiensi me supplex adjungo ad postulandam denuo erectionem novae Sedis in oppido *San-Clarensi* vulgo *Detroit* in *Agro Michigan* cum annexa administratione *Agri Northwestensis* et ad proponendos ad eam occupandam, 1° loco, Rev. dum Bened. um Fenwick, S. J., qui nunc Charlestoniae Vicar Gen. . . . 2° loco *Principem Ruthenum* Rev. D. *Demetrium Augustinum* Galitzin . . .

✠LUD. GUIL, Du Bourg, Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Novae Aureliae die 8 Februarii 1822.

#### TRANSLATION.

My Lord Cardinal:—

Much joy was afforded me by Your Eminence's letter of last October,<sup>2</sup> because, above all, it gave me certain hope that before long the Floridas will be withdrawn from my jurisdiction, as I had often earnestly requested your regretted predecessor, His Eminence, Card. Litta, and even the Holy Father himself. Not only, therefore, insofar as I am concerned, do I give my consent to their erection into an Episcopal See, but I repeat my prayer that this be done as soon as possible. . . . The limits of this new Diocese might include the present *Territory of the Floridas* and the State of Alabama. The title and the See, I think,

<sup>2</sup> The letter referred to is the above Document XXVII, of October 3, 1821.

ought to be the town of *Mobile*, as it is on the borders of both territories, and situated very conveniently near the mouth of the main river of that region, the Tom-big-bee, at a short distance from the sea.

As to the erection of another See in the City of St. Louis, Missouri, no one certainly can be pleased with it and desire it more than myself, as it means for me relief from immense labors and cares. Still, there is one reason why I delay asking at once for it, namely, the most earnest desire I have to free from all debts and obligations certain quite extensive properties which I have bought as an endowment for that See: I trust that, God helping, I may within a year reach this happy goal.<sup>3</sup> When this is accomplished I shall most gladly resign this part of my solicitude into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff, hesitating at no sacrifice, in order that the Prelate who is appointed to this new See may be spared the temporal cares and the utmost destitution which were my lot for several years. When this is achieved I will set to work to pave the way for the formation of a new Diocese midway between St. Louis and New Orleans, which may include the *State of Mississippi* and the *Territory of Arkansas*. Thus from one Diocese four shall be made out within a few years, and if it please the Holy See these may constitute a new Ecclesiastical province. As a matter of fact, I think that this ought to be considered before any division be decided upon. For the immense distance which separates us from Baltimore, and, besides, the differences of customs, characters and languages distinguishing this wide expanse of country from every other part of America, preclude the putting of any portion of my Diocese under the jurisdiction of that Metropolitan See. Moreover, New Orleans, the mother Church from which the Sees to be erected are springing forth, ought naturally to be given the Metropolitan dignity, on account of the antiquity of this Church, also of its wealth, and of its immense population, which is mostly Catholic, and lastly because, owing to the river flowing through all the other parts, it is easy to reach from every one of them.

I join my request to those of my Right Rev. and beloved Brothers and Colleagues of Bardstown, Mauricastrum and Cincinnati, to ask once more for the creation of a new See in the town of *St. Clair* (Detroit) in the Territory of Michigan, to which should be annexed the administration of the Northwestern Territory. As its incumbent I would propose, in the first place, the Rev. Benedict Fenwick, S.J., now Vicar General of Charleston . . . ; and as second choice, the Rev. Demetrius Augustine Prince Gallitzin. . . .

✠L. WM. DU BOURG, Bp. of N. Orl.

New Orleans, February 8, 1822.

---

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Du Bourg was always optimistic; he now asks for a year's respite; next year he will ask for more delay, and will at last try to have the division indefinitely postponed. Meantime he almost outdoes Propaganda's intention by proposing now a fourfold division.



# AN APPEAL

## HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED

by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis



Books and pamphlets on American History and Biography, particularly those relating to Church institutions, ecclesiastical persons and Catholic lay people within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase;

Old newspapers; Catholic modern papers; Parish papers, whether old or recent:

*We will highly appreciate the courtesy of the Reverend Pastors who send us regularly their Parish publications;*

Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

*In the case of family papers which the actual owners wish to keep in their possession, we shall be grateful for the privilege of taking copies of these papers;*

Engravings, portraits, Medals. etc;

In a word, every object whatsoever which, by the most liberal construction, may be regarded as an aid to, or illustration of the history of the Catholic Church in the Middle West.

Contributions will be credited to the donors and preserved in the Library or Archives of the Society, for the use and benefit of the members and other duly authorized persons.

Communications may be addressed either to the Secretary, or to the Librarians of the

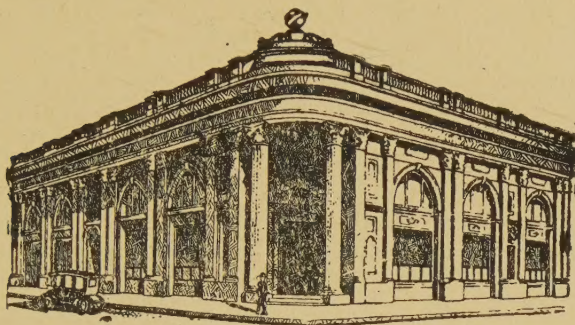
*Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,*

209 Walnut Street, St. Louis, Mo.



---

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM



*Capital, Surplus and Profits \$8,500,000*

**It pays to carry your account with a completely  
organized metropolitan Trust Company**

*Our Trust Department*, where wills and estates are handled —

*Our Bond Department*, which specializes in conservative securities —

*Our Safe Deposit Department*, with its modern street-level vaults —

*Our Real Estate Department*, is an efficient agency for the purchase,  
sale, renting and general management of St. Louis city and county  
real estate.

Every one of these is a reason why your checking account and your  
savings account should be with the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TRUST CO.

It is a distinct advantage to feel that the depository of your money  
can be useful to you in every one of your business affairs.

# Mississippi Valley Trust Co.

— Organized 1890 —

Northwest Corner Fourth and Pine Streets

---



# 6% First Mortgage \$100 and \$500 Real Estate Serial Notes

These notes are secured by business properties which we have thoroughly investigated, and the security had our unqualified approval before we put our own money into the loans. We therefore unhesitatingly recommend the notes as exceptionally good investments.

In the mortgages which secure these notes, it is specified that a given number of the notes must be paid each year. The amount of the loan is thereby reduced annually and the margin of security correspondingly increased. Semi-annual interest coupons are attached to each principal note and are payable at the Mercantile Trust Company, St. Louis.

Our many years' experience in the loaning of money on real estate enable us to provide every known safeguard for the protection of money loaned.

Our profit in these transactions is derived from fees charged property owners for making the loans. We then sell first mortgage notes and so get back our money to lend again.

Write for circulars describing notes which we now have to offer.

Real Estate Loan Department	<b>Mercantile Trust Company</b> Member Federal Reserve System EIGHTH AND LOCUST		U.S. Government Supervision -TO ST. CHARLES	Capital and Surplus \$10,000,000
	St. Louis			

## YOUR LAST CHANCE

To secure back numbers of ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW — Vol. I. — containing the first five numbers — 320 pp. — bound in cloth — price \$4.00. Send order with remittance to *Edward Brown, 511 Locust Street, St. Louis, Mo.* Only 70 copies left.

Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

## St. Louis Candle and Wax Co.

### CANDLE MAKERS

208 South First Street

St. Louis, Mo.